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16 October 1981

WEST EUROPE REPORT

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OIL EXECUTIVE ON GAS PRICES, ENERGY SUPPLY

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 9 Sep 81 pp 37-40

[Interview with Paul Hatry, managing director of the Petroleum Federation, and former minister of finance, by Frans Verleyen and Toon Louvette: "Paul Hatry, for Twenty Years 'Mister Oil': As the Shah Said, Oil Is too Good To Be Burned"; place and date of interview not given]

[Text] At the age of 52, Paul Hatry has been managing director of the Petroleum Federation, the trade association of oil companies in Belgium, for 20 years. He has occupied this position without interruption except for a period of 4 months, which nobody in and around the oil sector noticed, and during which he was minister of finance for the French speaking liberal PRL [Party of Liberty and Walloon Reform]. Hatry is /Mister Oil/ [in italics] in Belgium, the top negotiator for the government in all petroleum related matters, a very important -- and it is said efficient -- lobbyist in the Belgian industrial world.

In 1952, after completion of his economics studies, Paul Hatry went to work in the research division of the "A L'Innovation" department store, a job which he obtained during a period of economic crisis. A year later, he went from there to being a researcher at the Emile Bernheim Center for Business Studies of the ULB [Free University of Brussels], and shortly thereafter he became adviser to the Belgian Service for the Raising of Productivity. For this service, he later moved to Paris to work in the productivity division of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, which had grown out of the Marshall Plan and would later be known as the OECD. At that time, Europe discovered productivity in terms of American standards, and employers and workers then began to cooperate in that respect. In 1956, the liberal family established the Paul Hymans Center, and managing director Jacques van der Schueren approached Hatry to work with him. In January 1958, Roger Motz became minister of economic affairs, succeeding Jean Rey who moved to the new EC Commission, and Paul Hatry joined his administration for European and energy matters. That year, the ministers of economic affairs changed quickly: Raymond Scheyven followed and in November Jacques van der Schueren joined the department. In each case Hatry stayed on, even though Scheyven was a Catholic minister. Together with Van der Schueren, Hatry remained in the ministry until 1961, and in the meantime he was deputy chief of staff there and simultaneously chief of staff of State Secretary for Energy Roger De Looze. That was the period of the first state secretaries. "At that time, they were chosen by the minister they were attached to. Now things are different," said Paul Hatry. "During the Martens III administration in any case, it appeared as if the first concern of the members of the government was to throw banana peels in each other's face."

In 1961, the energy problem in Belgium was centered around coal -- two-thirds of the energy supply. It had been agreed within the ECSC, that the excessively expensive Belgian coal, with its excessively high production capacity, would be converted under the best conditions within the industrial context of the moment. To this effect, Belgium obtained temporary protection for its own coal market from the ECSC. The oil market involved gasoline for cars, natural gas did not yet exist, and as for nuclear energy, even though it was talked about and Euratom was set up, that sector was not competitive. In fact, nuclear research was ahead of its time, because two phenomena occurred after 1961. The country was flooded with cheap American coal, due to the collapse of transportation prices, and petroleum was discovered in North America, which came to Europe cheap.

At that time, people still thought that it would be possible to protect coal by levying extra taxes on oil products. This greatly irritated the oil bosses and at that time the then president of Caltex (now Texaco and Chevron) Jaspar asked Paul Hatry to set up a federation for the sector. At that time, the members of the newly organized group actually still formed a small club in Belgium, gasoline distributors whose business however was rapidly growing. Among the urgent reasons to establish a federation was also the existence of the tough CAOs [Collective Labor Agreement], which the oil companies independently concluded with the unions in 1960-1961, with sharply rising wages, guaranteed job stability and the introduction of a union bonus, an innovation in the country. The employers would no longer decide these things over a drink, but would tackle them in a professional manner.

Since then, Paul Hatry has had an office on the Wetenschapstraat, 50 meters away from the Ministry of Economic Affairs. In between the routine of price negotiations with that ministry and the social agreements with the workers, he has since 1958 been a professor at the ULB, where he teaches a few general economic courses, as well as a course on his own petroleum world.

Hatry is of German extraction. His grandfather had a small factory until 1914, and his father was a trade representative with numerous business contacts in Belgium, where he had also gone to school. In the thirties, the family emigrated to Belgium with 5 year old Paul, because things were becoming too difficult for the Jewish father. Paul Hatry stayed here.

Through his work in the federation, he also became a member of committees of the VBO [Federation of Belgian Enterprises], of the OECD and of the EC, and of the Central Council for Economic Life. In addition, he is one of the few Belgian members of the Montpelerin Society, an economic association which, since the fifties, has been working against socialist interventionism in society and for continued economic liberalism.

In the summer of last year, Paul Hatry succeeded Robert Henrion as minister of finance, when Henrion resigned for various reasons. One version refers to Henrion's excessive openness in tackling tax fraud, while another mentions only health problems. Hatry himself was not happy in the government. It bothered him, for example, that every problem had to be talked out in the presence of a nearly complete cabinet, while in the past a minister could discuss a file with the prime minister alone. It is true that at that time special groups of ministers were also set up, such as for the independence of the Congo or for large scale strikes; now every government includes about 10 ministerial committees. Henrion, being virtually the

only minister of a small government partner, was a member of 8 of the 10 committees. That is deadly, Hatry says now.

Question: In recent months, it has been with a feeling of irritation that the consumer has refueled at the pump. Prices no longer seem to have any structure at all. Meanwhile, the price of crude oil has gone up 6 or 7 francs in recent years, but the price of gasoline has increased by 20 francs. Taxation has had a part in this, but at the same time oil companies have grown enormously.

Paul Hatry: In Belgium, the /program contract/ [in italics] regulates the oil prices between the Petroleum Federation and the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Most EC countries have a system of regulations, except for the FRG and England. Minister Andre Oleffe introduced this in 1974, with the primary goal of depoliticizing the price issue. Prices went up continuously after 1971, and the governments which had to announce this were held responsible by the public. Next, a formula was devised to determine the price objectively, so that the government would no longer be the political victim.

Question: At that time, politicians had also had enough of contacts with the petroleum sector.

Hatry: Of course. Edmond Leburton had fallen because of Ibramco, and there were election posters opposing the oil magnates.

Question: And yet, the Ibramco state refinery was a beautiful government dream. It was supposed to produce market information, the secrets of the sector.

Hatry: A dream perhaps, but the contract with Iran was shameful for a country. I once stated that it would be better to reopen the coal mines in Wallonia than to buy oil this way. Furthermore, as a market Liege was too small for a refinery. Moreover, Leburton's chief of staff Andre Baeyens once said that the market information was more important than the productivity of the refinery. All of this is history now. It turned out that to own a refinery is no guarantee of oil supply. Let us assume that Ibramco had been built; it would have been the last refinery and the first to be closed. The second goal of the program contract for the government is to gather information on the oil sector. As enterprises, we feel that it would be better to take action against distortion of competition and to leave the rest free, as in the FRG, but the government wants a certain measure of control, and it has this.

Question: And yet, we have the highest oil prices in Europe.

Hatry: That is not true; the unions say that. Every week, the EC publishes the oil prices, without tax. For Belgium, maximum prices are allowed on this list, but everyone knows that there are discounts. The maximum price is only true for extra heavy fuel, and there we see that we are the cheapest in Europe. Gasoline is not representative. The program contract is aimed at being an objective price gauge, and Oleffe -- who was very capable -- was also looking for an illusory secret. The third important advantage of the program contract lies in the fact that the oil sector committed itself to continue to supply the country with oil.

You say that the oil companies have grown enormously. That is true, but profits have not always increased. For gasoline, for example, the state takes 52 percent of the price. A price at the pump of 30.80 francs includes 15.56 francs tax, 3.27 francs for distribution costs and 11.97 francs in product value. The amount which a petroleum company gets out of that is variable. At the present time, the value of what comes out of a refinery is smaller than the cost of crude oil plus the cost of refining. Not every company is running in the red, but at the present time the sector is losing money. Since 1974, a balance was achieved only in 1978, and 1979 and 1980 closed with a profit.

Question: To what extent are the crude prices fictitious though?

Hatry: Anyone who can buy oil from Saudi Arabia now is better off than anyone who buys in Nigeria or Libya. Officially, Saudi Arabia charges \$32, but via Distrigaz, the state also had to pay a \$1.70 surcharge per barrel. There are no discounts. Algeria also charges a \$3 surcharge on top of the official \$40. Saudi Arabia sells as much as it wants to. As a matter of fact, this is the basis for the conflict within OPEC in Geneva. Countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the Emirates have no reserve problem. They want to be cautious with the West and not set their prices too high so that a place will be kept there for oil in the energy spectrum. They want to be able to sell oil 30 years from now. Others, such as Iran, Algeria and Libya, have small reserves and want to make as much money as possible out of them. They usually also have a great deal of natural gas which, together with a high oil price, they also want to sell at a high price.

Question: But, at the international level, the seven sisters could shift amounts of oil at their own pleasure, couldn't they?

Hatry: More than seven sisters are involved, and anybody can find out from their reports where their profit came from, from what region in the world, from what energy activities, and from what part of the process, upstream from exploration and processing, or downstream from refining and distribution.

Question: However, the Belgian companies do not buy their oil from the producing countries, but from the parent companies, if necessary via the Bahamas. This is one of the reproaches made by the minister of economic affairs.

Hatry: But the state pays Petromin, via Distrigaz, \$1.70 per barrel more than the companies pay for their oil. The large companies buy in the producing countries at the indicated price. For Arab oil, for example, the calculation of the program contract figures \$32 per barrel.

Question: A short while ago, Mr Claes was very annoyed by what was being written about the Distrigaz dossier. At the time, he also hinted that you took the dossier from your administrative period along with you in order to harass the government with it later on.

Hatry: I most emphatically deny this. Besides, I am not the only minister who left the Martens III administration. I have an excellent relationship with Minister Claes. Certain newspapers were very aggressive with regard to the dossier, and it was not friendly to suggest an undertone of corruption. But, to the point, the government claimed that by buying oil via Distrigaz, it wanted to improve the country's supply security. And yet, it concluded a contract with a country which

already supplies 60 percent of our oil. It didn't have to do it for the low price, because Distrigaz pays more than the companies. And in the end, it isn't certain that Saudi Arabia produces more oil now because of that contract. The oil which Distrigaz now receives was probably subtracted from the amounts received by one of the large Aramco partners -- Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, and Chevron -- so that the overall effect is a shift to more expensive oil. I do not consider the operation opportune. Moreover, the size of it was very large. The contract was concluded without knowing where it would be refined. The independent distributors, for whom it was meant, are probably not getting anything out of that amount, because everything is being sold in bulk to the major companies.

Question: Do you have a long term energy prognosis?

Hatry: I can't give you a very original answer to that; there aren't 36 scenarios. On the side of demand, conservation is called for. This will not require the building of new institutions. We simply should continue the efforts which are under way, and which have already resulted in a substantial reduction of consumption.

Question: It seems strange to hear you, a seller and free market man, plead for lower sales figures.

Hatry: Since the 1973-1974 crisis, the large companies are no longer owners of the oil wells. Hence, if we want to continuously sell more, then the pressure of the OPEC countries becomes greater. The growth cannot go on like this and meanwhile we must develop alternatives. Oil from the North Sea, nuclear energy (in which large oil trusts are also becoming involved) and coal production, which we may be able to keep stable within the EC, even though Belgium will not play an important role in it. Then we would be able to extract more valuable products from petroleum, and the reserves would last longer. Furthermore, we are maintaining large stocks as a means to withstand pressure. The reserves now cover a 3 to 4 month need, but they cannot be too large either, as the United States would like, because that would irritate Sheik Yamani. And the consuming countries should form more of a front, unlike 1973-1974 when each country independently sent missions to the producing countries. Finally, I seriously believe that we should not seek a confrontation with the OPEC countries. We should talk and keep talking, until they are willing to negotiate about oil also, and find common interests. OPEC has achieved a great deal in 10 years, and it only looks as if the end of the cartel, in which they are quarreling now, is in sight. Indeed, the first international crisis to come along could bring OPEC solidarity completely back to the fore.

Question: To no small degree, energy has been the key to prosperity, but otherwise it is a turbulent market...

Hatry: A real market...

Question: And yet, there is quite a bit of cowboyism in this sector, isn't there? As the Belgian Mister Oil, a liberal and a humanist, you are in a world of cold giants.

Hatry: Since the fifties, many beautiful things have been achieved, a prosperity has been created thanks to, among other things, inexpensive energy. In the process, a large number of moral values have changed and the world has become much more free. It is a world of giants, which may perhaps not be very humane, but you also have to

look at the consequences and the effects. Henceforth, we will no longer be able to count on inexpensive oil, and we will have to prevent social decline and scarcity by using alternatives, however controversial they may be. Ten years ago, for example, there was no less tax fraud than now, but because the economic pie was getting bigger, nobody felt it as necessary to combat it as they do today. The means of big business may be cold and not too humane, but the results count, and that is a free society.

Question: The oil shock has produced a great deal of uncertainty and anxiety, but the big oil multinationals are safe at the top of the ranking list in **FORTUNE** magazine. Doesn't that look like a holdup?

Hatry: The real holdup was carried out by one company, the National Iranian Oil Company [NIOC], which, during the period 1975-1978, moved from somewhere around the 100th place to the 6th or 7th. The turnover of the NIOC nearly equalled its profits. It obtained the oil at \$0.50 per barrel and sold it for \$36. For the other giants, Exxon, Shell, Mobil, BP [British Petroleum] and the others, the figures were inflated by the OPEC prices. When compared to their investments and their fixed assets, their profits are not all that great, not any more than the average of American industry.

Question: Will we ever have inexpensive energy again? The oil companies are grabbing for alternatives and are developing up to and including solar energy.

Hatry: Coal and nuclear energy have once again become competitive; as yet, the other alternatives have not. If energy prices were to go down now, billions of francs in investments would be lost. Let us assume that the OPEC countries were to reduce their prices -- which is not their intention -- then this would have to be prevented. In the future, countries will be able to choose from among a much larger number of forms of energy and through new applications -- for example, a highly improved internal combustion engine -- become less dependent on energy. This will require that each country make its own complementary efforts.

Question: How do you see the role of the United States? That country is a very large producer of oil, but it first roamed all over the world in search of inexpensive foreign sources.

Hatry: That is a conspiracy theory, arising from a theocratic reasoning, as if there were a god somewhere who imposes its behavior on every country. The */seven sisters/* [in italics] are not the government of the United States.

Question: And yet, they had a great deal of influence under Ford, and Nixon's name was occasionally also spelled with the double X of Exxon.

Hatry: This would presume the existence of a web of contacts and decision making potential, which works very coherently and keeps its secret very well. In 1970, government adviser Aiken stated that by 1980 crude oil might cost as much as approximately \$5 per barrel. He was disowned, because such a negation of United States prosperity was impossible. After 1973, he was rehabilitated and became United States ambassador to Saudi Arabia. This illustrates how closed such a society as the American is toward intellectual speculation. The collapse of the dollar between 1971 and 1980 has to be of a temporary nature, because of the abundance of raw materials in the United States, and because when that country feels threatened it always turns back onto itself. No, the conspiracy theory is humbug.

Question: Now Europe is going to buy natural gas from the Soviet Union. The White House doesn't like that.

Hatry: I am known as being pro-Atlantic, a proponent of Western democracy. As is the case with so many things, so it is also with Russian gas: if you eat with the devil, you should use a long fork. It could be a very good thing to buy a harmless quantity of gas there. Besides, that gas is less expensive than gas from North Africa. Within a certain limit there is no harm in that, but the leaders over there do have a different philosophy from ours.

Question: Meanwhile, there are numerous industrial and commercial ties, aren't there?

Hatry: It bears watching, just as with alcohol.

Question: For how long is there oil left?

Hatry: For 30 years, assuming nothing changes in terms of prices and technology. But every year, they are drilling deeper and further. At the present time, 30 percent of the available oil is extracted from a well; with new techniques this could be more than 40 percent. Since 1974, prices have opened up the North Sea and Alaska. Besides, a greater amount is refined from 1 ton of oil today than was years ago. Oil remains, in the words of the Shah, too valuable to be burned.

Question: If you were in the position of a Yamani, of a sheik, what would your policy be?

Hatry: I am too Western. I believe that the Venezuelan policy is not dumb. This country rose from its backwardness because of its oil, and it is still one of the four countries in Latin America where elections are held. Don't ask me about an Arab policy. Even the Shah, however Western he may have been, reasoned differently. Sheik Yamani is astride two civilizations: he was raised in a very Western manner, and works for a country which does not even know the precise number of its inhabitants.

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CSO: 3105/184

BRIEFS

WIND-ENERGY FACILITY EXPANDING--Windmill builders are standing in line at Riso, the waiting list is growing longer and longer for the little test station with only seven bases. But now it is being doubled in size and the testing will no longer take a year but just a few months. The test station for smaller windmills was set up in 1978 as part of the Energy Ministry's program to study the possibilities of wind power in Denmark. Here manufacturers, the authorities and consumers get free assistance. Especially with regard to vane design. It is also the job of the station to decide whether a mill type can obtain state support. Through these systems approvals the ministry has influenced the development of reliable, safe mills. Danish mills certainly tolerate comparison with foreign products, according to Riso. Production got going quickly and there is no reluctance to experiment. Cooperation is good between mill builders and the researchers. There are around 500 small and medium-size windmills being used around Denmark. Many fewer than there were a few generations ago. After World War I 30,000 mills were turning. Most modern windmills have three vanes and have an efficiency of 10-55 kilowatts. But larger mills producing 75 kilowatts are on the way. Annual production varies from 10,000 to 120,000 kilowatt hours. A typical medium-size mill delivers 20-50,000 kilowatt hours a year, depending on the winds in that location. [By J. J. Kjaergaard] [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 17 Sep 81 p 6] 6578

CSO: 3106/177

EREL STRESSES CONTINUATION OF AKANSEL'S POLICIES

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 28 Aug 81 p 8

[Article by Teoman Erel: "It Must Continue After Akansel"]

[Text] Gen Ismail Hakkı Akansel said: "They are talking about price fixing. This is not price fixing. What we are doing is setting normal profit ceilings. This is something that should have been done before us."

The Honorable Akansel was calling from Istanbul. He had read our article criticizing the opponents of price controls in effect in Istanbul. He thanked us politely and provided us with information which can clear up certain misconceptions.

Akansel was promoted to the rank of full general at the latest Supreme Military Council meeting and has been appointed Commander of War Academies. He will now turn over the mayorship of Istanbul to Lt Gen Ecmel Kutay.

Which means he was still in office [as Mayor of Istanbul] when he called.

He considered it his duty to inform the press and give the facts to the public. As journalists it is our duty to relay that information [to the public].

The information given by General Akansel and an aide of his is, in essence, as follows: Authorized decision making organs of the Istanbul Municipality and Province have classified fresh fruits and vegetables into various grades and calculated profit ceilings and transportation costs. The objective has been the determination of the retail prices by consistent standards and not the sale of a product of certain quality at the same price at every location.

It has been decided to add a transportation cost of 5 Turkish liras per kilometer/ per kilogram on the purchase price of goods of various grades. Under these rules the complaint voiced by retailers' representatives and the drawback we had pointed out in our article are really not justified. This way it is possible to have different prices for the same product in a shop in the central produce market and one in a distant county like Sarıyer taking transportation costs into account.

Street peddlers and shopkeepers have been given equal profit ceilings; the peddlers can mark up to 20 percent, the shopkeepers up to 25 percent.

Some retailers have complained: "Rent for a shop in Sisli is 30,000 Turkish liras; in Eminonu it is only 4,000 liras. How can you apply equal standards?"

General Akansel says on this issue: "Those paying high rents can deduct it from their taxes. Therefore it is not right to reflect high rents in some neighborhoods into the price of a product."

We congratulated the Honorable Akansel for his promotion and new appointment and thanked him for the information he provided to us.

He said that he will send broader written information on the price controls applied in Istanbul.

It is our custom: Whenever an official is inclined toward such controls and shows some scrupulousness people sneer at them. They say: "The economy has its own rules. Police measures will get you nowhere."

In reply to that one should ask: "Why are we fighting counterfeiters?

Why is the forging of money a crime?"

Now do not say "What is the relevance?" Let us explain. Economic rules which determine the value of money are naturally very important. If excessive amounts of money is injected into the market its value will obviously drop. Economists and fiscal experts must be very careful on this issue. But no country stops at that; in addition to the legal printing of money forging must also be controlled. Imagine the chaos on the market if it is flooded with large amounts of masterfully done forgings.

During World War II the Germans printed millions of pounds sterling to undermine the British economy.

Economic measures alone are not sufficient to maintain a sound economic life. One must see the merits of operations ridiculed as "police measures."

The best tax laws at optimum rates for the economy will produce no results if there are not sufficient tax audits.

Sufficient production and efficient distribution of a commodity does not prevent the commodity from becoming an issue of speculation. If the controls are totally abandoned there may be artificial accumulations at one location and deliberately created shortages at others resulting in abnormal price fluctuations.

There was a news item I cannot forget. It came from the United States of America. A married couple were manufacturing dairy products at a plant and selling it in a shop in town. The plant was registered in the name of one of the partners and the shop in the name of the other. Both were modest enterprises.

Control authorities intervened in the situation on the basis of antitrust laws and the couple was taken to court.

Whereas even developed capitalist countries do not sneer at such controls of our administrators, under the banner of "free market economy," are saying: "This does not conform with our policies."

The people have no objections to these controls. We read from the papers that Istanbul residents are happy with them. Some controls are in effect in Ankara as well. Invoices and prices are audited in fresh produce markets. I was at the Kucukesat market last Sunday. I bought some cucumbers from a shop. Green peppers were heaped next to the cucumbers, but they were covered by a jacket. Next to it stood the sulky shopkeeper.

"Give me half a kilo of peppers," I said.

"I am not selling," he grumbled.

"Why?"

"Its invoice has not arrived; I am waiting."

I understood. Because I had witnessed similar situations before. The market had been inspected and the sale of goods without invoices had been banned. The shopkeeper with the green peppers had been caught doing illegal business.

When you see the sullen-faced shopkeepers sitting like exhibits next to their heaps of univoced fruits and vegetables whose sale has been banned you feel sorry for them. But then you see the crowd filling the market: Thousands of people, old and young; mostly modest looking people with fixed incomes...

They are struggling to live in these expensive times. In numbers they are in the majority, but since they cannot influence important economic decisions things have got out of hand and they have shouldered most of the problems.

You think to yourself: "The day to day living of the citizens must be given as much consideration as economic successes and those who do that must be commended... And, for example, the controls in Istanbul that Akansel thinks are so important must be kept after he is gone."

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CSO: 4654/150

REPORT SURVEYS REASONS FOR SEE FAILURES

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 23 Aug 81 p 11

[Text] Ankara--Special Dispatch--According to a report by the Budget Planning Commission on the supervision of SEE's [State Economic Enterprises] in the course of the last 30 years--during which Turkey entered a process of liberal development--these enterprises have not been given sufficient support and their problems have worsened because they have not been solved in time. The report, moreover, sees the need to reorganize upper levels of administration and administrators in SEE's.

Stating that SEE's were born out of Turkey's requirements and needs, the report continues:

"SEE's have pioneered large-scale investments in Turkey's industrialization and development drive. Through these investments it has been possible to provide the country with basic goods and services.

"However, in the course of the last 30 years, during which Turkey entered a process of liberal development, SEE's have not been given sufficient support and their problems have worsened because they have not been solved in time. SEE's have, however, become more widespread because their value as an economic and political force in Turkish economic and social life has been well appreciated. Significant merit is seen in considering the SEE's in conjunction with the private sector and formulating long-term economic policies on a common unifying platform on which the two sectors will support each other and not compete toward a common target.

"Thus, by looking at the future with confidence and by developing long-term investment and reform plans, we can transform the SEE's into healthy institutions through corrective measures and insure their development.

"SEE's perform different functions depending on their characteristics. Some may not always be profitable despite productive and effective operation methods because they are entrusted with supplying society with basic goods and services on a large scale.

"There is need to integrate and increase the effectiveness of the legal status of SEE's and the methods of their supervision. In like manner, it is necessary to reorganize upper levels of administration and administrators of SEE's.

"Maintaining the operation of SEE's in an effective, productive and resourceful manner is possible by a series of corrective measures in their administrative and financial structures and management operations. Cooperation among SEE's is an important necessity. Although the price mechanism can be used to solve problems to a certain degree, it is useful to point out that real corrections will come through steps taken to reduce costs. This is a complicated task which is largely beyond the scope of SEE administrators. However, SEE administrators have a role to play particularly in increasing personnel productivity, maintaining frugality and improving the quality of services.

"The determination and application of these corrective measures will be possible by the examination of the issue and conclusions on it at the government level and by specifying in detail in a plan the economic policies to be formulated and the reorganization steps to be taken.

"It is thought to be appropriate that such a plan be put into effect after being approved by the National Security Council. Likewise, it is also found useful that the views in principle of the National Security Council on SEE's be determined in order to provide a guiding light on such work."

9588
CSO: 4654/150

PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONGRESS DEBATES NONSOCIALIST COOPERATION

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 21 Sep 81 p 7

[Article by Christian Brondum]

[Text] Glensgaard Says Social Democrats, Liberals, Conservatives Harm Nation

"If the Liberals and Conservatives are not prepared to give the Progressive Party the helmsman's position in a three-party coalition the Progressive Party would prefer to allow the Social Democrats to run the country into the ground."

So said Folketing member Leif Glensgaard in a very harsh criticism of V [Liberal Party] and K [Conservative Party] in a speech at the Progressive Party congress in Herning.

Leif Glensgaard said that "Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen, Conservative chairman Poul Schluter and Liberal chairman Henning Christophersen are 'harmful' to the nation."

He continued: "The difference between the economic policies of V and K and the Social Democrats is 'the 10-15 billion kroner that V and K want to cut from the national deficit next year. The gross deficit will be 90 billion kroner in 1982.

"In other words V and K would save 10 percent of the deficit or, to put it another way, they would be 90 percent Social Democrats," said Glensgaard.

"When we leave this congress we will not go forth as yes men, for that would be harmful to the country. We must not simply jump at a chance to cooperate with V and K. We must tell Anker Jorgensen that we will never again cooperate with the Social Democrats and they must give the Progressive Party the role of helmsman," declared Glensgaard who also entertained the congress with a caricature of the leaders of the two nonsocialist parties.

Marriage of Convenience with V and K Necessary

The Progressive Party will have to get together with the Liberal and Conservative parties to arrange a marriage of convenience with them. Otherwise it will be impossible to deal with the country's problems.

This was the conclusion of the debates at the Progressive Party congress in Herning this weekend and those were also Mogens Glistrup's words when he closed the congress yesterday afternoon. Despite the rejection of the Liberals and Conservatives the Progressives are continuing their attempt to establish some form of cooperation among the three parties--in recognition of the fact that this would be the only realistic alternative to a Social Democratic government.

"From the point of view of easing the necessary reconstruction phase for the Danish economy it would be wonderful if we could start in on it tomorrow," said the party's co-leader, Mogens Glistrup. "A marriage of convenience with V and K is a necessity, but that does not mean we should become bootlickers, on the other hand. The policy we pursue should be aimed at having the three parties work together on an equal basis. If we need V and K, they need us much more."

Mogens Glistrup thought it conceivable that a straight VK government might be established under certain circumstances without any agreements with the Progressives. And he called such a possibility horrifying, since the members of the VK government would have to visit the antechambers of Anker Jorgensen and Ritt Bjerregaard every day to ask for political support. Such a VK government would be forced to make many more concessions to the Social Democrats than a Social Democratic regime could achieve on its own.

In response to people who thought it was all hopeless and that the Progressive Party would not get any further Mogens Glistrup said that the question was not if the Progressive policies would be implemented but when they would be. "We can say this because the other parties are using these years to whiten their sepulchres. They keep on allowing the state to borrow and borrow but one can't go on like that forever. Some of our people have been a little impatient, asking when we would be through with our 'wandering in the desert.' This impatience is justified. Therefore it would be a good thing if we could get started quickly."

National Chairman Re-Elected

The Progressive Party re-elected V.A. Jakobsen as national chairman, that is to say the leader of the party's organization, by 666 votes.

That is practically a re-election by acclamation since Folketing member Anker Tang Sorensen, who had earlier been a kind of competitor to V.A. Jakobsen, received only 16 votes. This happened after Anker Tang Sorensen declared he intended to keep a promise he made at the national congress last year about not running again, so that now he recommended V.A. Jakobsen.

In the 10-year history of the Progressive Party a great deal of unrest has surrounded the national chairman elections. But after his first election last year V.A. Jakobsen managed to consolidate his position through purposeful work to build and expand a party organization and this effort was appreciated by the close to 700 delegates at the congress who behaved much more calmly and in a more disciplined fashion at this year's meeting than was the case in the early years of the party.

Poul Sustmann Hansen was also re-elected to the executive committee and Mogens Petersen of Ringkobing was voted in to replace Harald Horn. The executive committee of the Progressive Party consists of five members who are elected for a term and one member, Mogens Glistrup, who is a lifetime honorary member of that body.

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY CHAIRMAN CHRISTENSEN DISCUSSES POLICY

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 15-16 Sep 81 p 9

[Article by Anni Pape]

[Text] Christian Christensen of the Christian People's Party believes that the Social Democrats are becoming receptive to his party's family policy. He talks about marriage, taking care of children at home, children in the house, abortion and sexual intercourse.

"There is a growing realization among Social Democrats that we should strengthen the family instead of strengthening institutions. The idea of giving parents money to take care of their children at home is gaining more and more support."

The evaluation is that of Christian Christensen of the Christian People's Party. The months ahead will show whether or not he is right.

On his and the party's initiative there was a May 1981 compromise between the government and the compromise parties that put these words into the text of the agreement: "The parties emphasize that the question of the standard of living of families with children should be taken up at the beginning of the new Folketing year." That was all that was said on that topic.

"During the compromise negotiations Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen stressed that the compromise text would include a statement that the living standard of families with children would be taken up on the basis of a report from the social affairs minister on the basis of the latest report from the Children's Commission," said Christensen to INFORMATION. "But that would mean reinforcing the institutions, so we prevented this from being dealt with on the basis of the report from the Children's Commission. And the most important thing for the prime minister was a compromise."

Children's Commission

It appears from the latest report from the Children's Commission, dated May 1981, that the commission "opposes in principle the equation of daily care and institutions"--as Social Affairs Minister Ritt Bjerregaard proposed and got through Folketing in the May 1980 compromise.

The stated objective of the Children's Commission is still free daycare institutions for all children. This old Social Democratic goal was removed from the party program at the party congress in the fall of 1980. But in the current economic situation the Children's Commission is putting a priority on raising the limits for free spaces and continuing an expansion of the institutions.

Another well-known theme of the commission is that "in principle there should be a reduction of daily working hours to 6 hours for everyone." Until that becomes politically and economically possible the commission proposes that "all parents working fulltime who have children up to 8 years of age should have the right to reduce the daily work schedule to 6 hours and this right should be guaranteed by legislation." It is also proposed that to a certain extent economic compensation should be provided for lost earnings.

Mogens Camre

The Social Democrat who in Christensen's view has most directly expressed understanding of the ideas of the Christian People's Party on strengthening the family is Mogens Camre. He earlier declined to talk about the issue to INFORMATION before the subject of "the standard of living of families with children" had been taken up in Folketing. As his party's spokesman in the concluding debate in Folketing before the summer recess, Mogens Camre said:

"Public subsidies in all areas must be evaluated on the basis of need in the next few years. We must decide if the structure in the social sector is meeting its objectives and whether we should reduce the emphasis on institutions.... We must consider whether the increasing expansion of public administration and guidance leads to a tendency toward guardianship and regarding people as incapable of managing their own affairs."

Against the background of Christensen's statements concerning increasing Social Democratic understanding of the Christian People's Party's family policy INFORMATION talked to Christian Christensen about some of the fundamental elements and special points of his party's family policy.

"We must return to the family if we are to solve many of the problems we have in society--especially those involving young people, criminality, the schools and violence. It is not just a question of solving a passing problem and shoveling more money into the institutions. The Social Democrats agree that this does not solve the social and ideological problems. It may seem a little harsh to say that the Social Democratic family policy has run aground. But one must find new ways--and we are going back to some values that we are finding out existed in the home," said Christian Christensen.

[Question] Are the new signals coming from the Social Democrats based on the need to make savings in the public sector?

Christensen: No, certainly not. It is much deeper than that and much more positive. They have recognized that breaking up the home has led to problems for young people. And the family is the core of society. If children grow up with

two parents and experience the strengths, weaknesses and problems of this little society it provides a basis for continuing on in the larger society. The child is educated to be responsible--for the existing society as well. We believe this value system gives children a clear counterbalance to the vacuum that arises at the age of 15-17 when separation from the home is imminent. That is the background for our conviction that the family should be strengthened.

Christian View of Human Life

[Question] What do you think is the explanation for the breaking up of the nuclear family? Is it political and economic developments--or the women's movement?

Christensen: I would go a little deeper than that. It is due to the breaking away from the Christian concept of social life, of human life and of marriage. The moment one no longer believes that marriage is a divine sacrament and that human life is a gift from God and is therefore inviolable all the positive connections disappear. If one further believes that cohabitation is a you-me relationship that in many cases is based on the individual's demands concerning what he can get out of the marriage the driving force is not the joy and happiness of the other but one's own benefit. If one moves out, you move another one in and you think it's the other person there's something wrong with.

Unsanctioned Relationships

[Question] Why do you oppose legalizing the relationships of the 370,000 people living in unsanctioned union?

Christensen: We are against allowing legislation that would legalize nonmarital relationships. We think we should start off by removing the economic reasons for people living together without getting married--and then turn back.

[Question] You often argue on the basis of the good of the child when presenting your family policies. Isn't there a good argument for giving unmarried fathers custody rights to their children?

Christensen: That is one of the things we are engaged in violent discussion on, so I can't answer that. We are well aware that there are circumstances where the father is the best-qualified to care for the child.

[Question] But at the moment you people stand fast on your position because you oppose unsanctioned relationships. Doesn't God love those living in illicit union as much as he does those who are married?

Christensen: Yes, but we don't think living together without being married is God's solution. That is godless.

[Question] What does the godlessness consist of?

Christensen: An unsanctioned relationship is not one that is instituted by God. And there is another reason why I don't like these illicit unions. The minute two

young people move in together they have to have an apartment, a vacuum cleaner, refrigerator and TV set. And the day they part company, who gets to keep it all? The man does. If he wants a woman to live with him she deserves better treatment. You must cut your rights in half and double your obligations. Otherwise you are not worthy of having the other person move in with you. Illicit relationships are the most degrading form of cohabitation for women. I cannot understand why the women's movement doesn't use all its energy to combat illicit relationships for they are the poorest possible ones a woman could have.

Unchristian

[Question] This is something that is purely legalistic. Couldn't it be corrected by making those who are living together without legal papers equal to those who are legally married?

Christensen: That could well be.

[Question] What is left if the material problems are removed? Is it because people must love only one person and have sexual relations with that one person for a whole lifetime? Doesn't God like those who do something else?

Christensen: Any kind of position taken on this is a position on marriage as a positively instituted relationship. If people choose another form it is not my job to classify them and their relationship with God. Any talk about God caring less for them is to put it bluntly unchristian. I would say that these are the people in desperate need of help.

Childcare at Home

One element in removing what the Christian People's Party calls the "marriage tax" is the proposal to pay parents for caring for their children at home. This is the proposal Christensen believes the Social Democrats are especially receptive to. It is also the proposal the Christian People's Party will place most emphasis on in the future.

Christensen: If parents have their children cared for by institutions the state aids the institutions. But if on the other hand you stay home and take care of your children you can't get a penny. And of course we would like to transfer the sum it costs society to have children cared for in institutions over to the family. To make things quite correct 35-50,000 kroner a year should be transferred to the home. But that would be hard to get through. So we have said that to start with the children's subsidy should be increased to 1000 kroner a month. That would provide 12,000 kroner the first year. Of course some compromises may have to be made. But first we will propose 1 year. Later we can go up to 3 years.

[Question] That's 36,000 kroner over 3 years. That's almost nothing.

Christensen: No, but it is a beginning. Socially seen the institutions are still there. But we hope that the state and parties will eventually be convinced that

this is an advantage since it will save on a lot of other expenses in the public sector.

Wage Reduction

[Question] Is the idea that one would have to stay home fulltime to get the 1000 kroner a month?

Christensen: Yes if one wants to. If one has a parttime job one would get what amounted to parttime pay--just like the reduction that occurs on the labor market if one works parttime.

[Question] Where would the child go if one parent works fulleime and the other one parttime?

Christensen: Our idea is that they would take turns looking after the child. Both parents would then work parttime.

[Question] That would lead to a serious decline in wages, wouldn't it?

Christensen: Yes, it would.

Choice

[Question] Is it day nurseries that will be limited?

Christensen: It will be first and foremost the institutions used by younger children that there will be less use for. But as it becomes possible to extend the arrangement and have parents stay home for several years there will also be less need for nursery schools.

[Question] Do you support making the institution of daycare and rearing children at home equal? Or is this an unequivocal upgrading of the priority of the home?

Christensen: This is to be an offer--a possibility for choice. We want to allow people to decide for themselves if they want to have their children in institutions or if they would rather take care of them at home. We are not asking for the elimination of the institutions. It may be that both parents want to work fulltime and if there are no institutions available they won't have any choice. I think that home is better but parents must decide this themselves. We think more and more will choose to look after their children at home. This is in line with the upgrading of human values.

Teachers

[Question] Isn't it problematic for children to be without other social contacts than those the home can provide?

Christensen: I don't think that is an important factor. I think contact with the parents is most important for a child, especially in the first 3 years.

[Question] What do you have against what you call social control of upbringing?

Christensen: Children are not made happy by a state upbringing. The parents have received their children as gifts which also involves obligations. That gives children the greatest security. In institutions they are with strangers and become pawns in a game.

[Question] Are you afraid the children will become little socialists?

Christensen: No, it is nothing political. But the needs of children are not met there. The love parents can give them cannot be replaced by well-meaning teachers.

[Question] There could be serious consequences for the ties to the job market of the parent or parents who stay home for 3 years.

Christensen: Yes, that is true--quite definitely. That is also why it is important to promote parttime work. The choice should not be between being a fulltime worker or a fulltime homemaker. When there is a need for it one should have a chance of getting out.

Oppression of Women

[Question] Do you think women are oppressed both by society and by the family?

Christensen: I don't accept its occurrence but I realize it exists. Unfortunately this is a holdover from the past. On the basis of Christian thinking we must clearly reject the idea that anything ordains the supremacy of men.

[Question] When your starting premise is that oppression of women exists, don't you think your proposal to have children cared for at home will have the consequence that it will be the woman who takes on this job? There are not many part-time jobs for men and in general women are not paid as well.

Christensen: Our idea is not to "chase women home to their fleshpots" as Jytte Andersen and Inge Fischer Moller of the Social Democrats have charged. I think this is a base statement. They are the ones who are degrading women. It is praiseworthy and distinguished to work in the home. But in the first years of a child's life it will probably be woman's job to care for him because she has a greater tie to the child if she is nursing it. With regard to wages, the pay of men and women is becoming more equal. But I would agree that our society as it is now does not encourage men to remain in the home. Men's positions are often tied to fulltime jobs. An aspiring director who says he would like to work part-time will remain aspiring.

But I envy women the close ties they have to their children. I won't rule out the possibility that there might be a purely biological bond to the mother. But this is also related to a large extent to the fact that she is the one who stays with the child. If the father stayed home it would in many cases be him the child turned to. It is important that we let fathers know that contact with their children will not be created by staying away from them.

Young People in the Home

In close connection with the proposal to increase access to parttime work and caring for children at home Christian Christensen mentioned the party's proposal that the family be allowed to deduct half the expenses from its taxes if it hires a young man or woman in the home:

When we have proposed a tax break for having young people employed in the home it is because a great deal of the economy is still administered through households-- and this could just as well be done by the man as by the woman. In the second place we believe that building up a home calls for an effort. And we don't just mean a home as a place to eat and sleep but as the little society that assists children with their homework, takes them on walks and allows them to encounter nature and culture. Both boys and girls would enjoy this upbringing. But I agree with Inge Fischer Moller when she says it is an old fable that they get something out of it when there isn't anybody home. But we have also said our proposal was based on the assumption that one of the parents would be there half the time.

Pay for Housework

[Question] You would like to have housework upgraded. Why don't you go all the way and say the state should pay wages for housework?

Christensen: Then you have a nationalized society.

[Question] Isn't it state control if the state pays parents to stay home and look after their children?

Christensen: No, that is state support. The two sides would still make their own decisions. In the other mode the state is directing its small flock.

[Question] Could pay for housework not become an arrangement based on the same premises? It is also the state that pays you to stay home via taxes.

Christensen: I'm just afraid the state will take over too much. No, I don't dare go along with that.

Against Abortion

[Question] A key element in your family policy is opposition to abortion--unless the life of the mother is in danger. You don't allow abortions on social grounds. Should one have a child even if one is young, unemployed, without a lover and with nowhere to live?

Christensen: Yes, that child should be born no matter what. But I would also say that we must take out our pocketbooks and pay for the cost of having that child born. If you have that ethical view you must also follow it up economically. This can mean providing housing, work and economic support for a period of time.

[Question] Why don't you settle for using society's meager resources on improving conditions for those who already have children instead of wasting money on those who don't want them?

Christensen: Have you thought that attitude through? If a family member becomes mentally defective it is uneconomical to carry that person along. Hitler once said something similar about old people. This is a dead loss.

[Question] This is a question of children who have not been born.

Christensen: Bear in mind that it is a voluntary matter for people to have children--and it is equally voluntary whether or not they want to become pregnant.

[Question] It could happen accidentally. It isn't always that 14-year-old girls know what they are doing.

Christensen: One must be perfectly aware that if one embraces a certain position there is a risk. Here the whole attitude toward life should enter in. A girl of 14 years should consider what she is doing together with her parents.

Intercourse and Children

[Question] Is it a matter of the wellbeing of the child if a woman must have a child she doesn't want and may come to hate?

Christensen: It is in the child's best interest if people are informed about the risk involved and the opportunities that exist to avoid getting into that situation. The situation you speak of could well be the result of rape.

[Question] It might be that she isn't ready.

Christensen: Yes, but if you're ready to start on one part you should be ready to start on the next. Otherwise responsibility flies out the window if you don't connect the two things.

[Question] Do you think that if someone is ready to have intercourse she is also ready to have a child?

Christensen: Of course.

[Question] Every time?

Christensen: If you go outside without a coat you run the risk of getting wet if it rains. Parents have an enormous obligation to take this up. And it is the duty of parents and the society to help--not to murder the child.

[Question] If you think the desire for intercourse also means that one is ready to have a child do you support contraception? Then one can have intercourse innumerable times without having a child.

Christensen: We do not reject contraception.

[Question] Now it is not on the abortion issue that you are in agreement with the Social Democrats. Have you had any concrete promises that the government will view your other proposals positively?

Christensen: No, but the battle that now begins will be an interesting one. What we want is to strengthen the family and the upbringing of children in their early years. We must remove all discrimination against marriage and parenthood.

6578

CSO: 3106/172

POLITICAL

DENMARK

BRIEFS

CP CHAIRMAN ON SOLIDARITY-- The chairman of the Danish CP, Jorgen Jensen, says that the independent Polish labor union, Solidarity, is under the influence of the Catholic church, in other words forces "who have said openly they don't want socialism. And I'm not entirely convinced that Lech Walesa is a socialist. I think his position is that he doesn't want socialism," Jorgen Jensen said yesterday on the TV news broadcast. The Danish CP chairman rejected the demands made by the Solidarity congress and pointed out that Solidarity people had said the entire administration should be handed over to individual firms. Jorgen Jensen said that in that case the society would collapse. "If they implement what they are currently telling the people about, the whole society will collapse, turning it into a capitalist dictatorship. What should the Polish government do? It should try to convince the working class that they are heading the wrong way," said Jorgen Jensen. The chairman of the Danish communists also rejected the collection of food by the Catholic church for distribution to Poland. Jorgen Jensen said the Polish economy had broken down but that due to imports there was as much food in the country as there has been in the past. [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 14 Sep 81 p 2] 6578

NORDIC COUNCIL FOREIGN POLICY-- Ib Christensen of the Single-Tax Party, a member of the Danish delegation to the Nordic Council, says it will soon be time to create a Nordic foreign policy union. "The informal and unsatisfactory Nordic foreign policy cooperation should therefore be decisively strengthened through changes in the Nordic Council's statutes making it clear and specific that foreign policy is part of Nordic cooperation," Ib Christensen said yesterday at a meeting of the Nordic Society. [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 21 Sep 81 p 3] 6578

CSO: 3106/177

LEADERS MANEUVER AS KEKKONEN'S CONDITION WORSENS

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 19 Sep 81 pp 35-42

[A series of articles by Kari Kyheroinen, Risto Lindstedt, and Antti Blafield]

[Text] Ahti Karjalainen Warns: Finland Faced with More Difficult Times

At the moment that the Director of the Bank of Finland arrived to deliver an anticipated important speech on economic and foreign policy at Helsinki's Balder Hall in connection with Santeri-(Alkio) Day, the Finnish press, which was observing the making of Finland's policy, exited from the door of the Council of State located on the other side of the street without even noticing Ahti Karjalainen coming out of a taxi. The budget dispute had just experienced its last bout and the participants were moving to Kesäranta to observe the climax.

Balder Hall itself was practically empty even though the event had been visibly advertised in advance by a two-column announcement in HELSINGIN SANOMAT.

The observance of Santeri Day is a tradition of several years belonging to the Center Party's Helsinki District, which no outsider has hardly even noticed before.

Even though Ahti Karjalainen's purpose was now after his vacation to begin a definite campaign for the presidency, the event was poorly attended. There were 50 people in attendance, and if one were to attempt to find a support group from among those attending, even in this one would be disappointed: those attending included Helsinki District Chairman Kimmo Eskola, former Party Secretary and current Director of Alko [State Liquor Monopoly] Mikko Immonen, and the highly visible attorney Timo Riskala, whose possible membership among Karjalainen's supporters was a surprise.

Ahti Karjalainen spoke for an hour, evenly, colorlessly, and without taking any risks, and then left in his official car to attend Weilin and Goos' reception, at which his newest literary work "My Homeland Is Finland" was made public. The same song was sung by the whole group in Balder Hall with the refrain "We have earned our respect".

Highlights of the Speech

Ahti Karjalainen and foreign policy: Finland has no reason to become involved in the dispute between the super powers in an aggravated international situation. The

super powers respect even a small country which attempts to carry out a policy aimed at peace. Mere cautiousness and passiveness are not sufficient in this respect, but Finland must follow international developments and their repercussions in the Nordic countries with initiative and vigilance now that the situation is regrettably becoming more aggravated.

"Finland must always place itself in the mainstream of those forces which promote the cause of peace not only in Northern Europe but throughout the whole world."

Ahti Karjalainen and economic prospects: Finland is one of the world's most open economies. Its ties to Efta, the EEC-countries, and the socialist countries open all doors to international competition, the reason that its primary concern will continue to be the maintenance of its international competitiveness. "The most important conflicts of the budget dispute are also connected with this question."

We are now faced with times more difficult than in past good years since exports to the Soviet Union are now also slowing down. Until now exports have increased primarily as a result of the increase in prices caused by the second oil crisis, but now oil prices have stabilized and with it also the growth in exports.

"A problem of the near future is how we will be able to find machinery and equipment from the Soviet Union for balancing our exports. Energy now makes up two-thirds of our imports and it hardly needs to be increased. Machinery and equipment will be its replacement."

Full-Scale Campaign Swings

Paavo Vayrynen's campaign swing began with speeches about the President, budget, the government's autumn, and the position of the Center Party.

He is sitting in the aircraft bound for Joensuu reading a newspaper with an expression free of wrinkles, but not without concern. He knows very well that he is a central and controversial politician.

MP Markku Kauppinen is waiting for the chairman, for whom he has arranged a long work schedule before the party congress in Turku.

Twenty minutes after the aircraft arrived, representatives of the Northern Karelia Provincial League were offering the minister coffee, salmon, meat pies, and their troubles.

Paavo Vayrynen's campaign swing had begun. It will continue with weekend trips at least until Christmas when the calendar will open up for the first time.

In Polvijarvi the group is in front of the Hermann Restaurant exactly to the minute. The city fathers offer food and five wishes. The discussion begins with the budget and Vayrynen's expectations.

"Reckless affectation," he says.

Lea Sutinen, who is spending her third term in the Diet and who has been called the Golda Meir of Northern Karelia, attempts to persuade the minister to eat some rye bread. There is no appetite for food. A speech has to be delivered on the other side of the street.

A Four-Point Message

Vayrynen came to distribute provisions and to be given instructions at Polvijarvi, Kontiolahti, Pyhaselka, and Outokumpu.

Of the presidential campaign he said the following:

"The President's illness has accelerated the presidential campaign. Out of great respect for our president we do not yet want to engage in such a discussion. Even in the future the most important task of the President of the Republic will be to manage foreign policy."

His only position on the presidential campaign for the time being was published on Sunday: "No Socialist for president".

Of the budget he said:

"The Center Party took a forceful position with respect to the budget. It was decided that it will be pushed through in accordance with the Center Party line. If not this time, then in the next government."

He sees the minimum pension reform, compensation for crop failures, and the drawing of border for areas in accordance with new area policy legislation as the three most difficult questions of the government this fall.

Of compensation for crop failures he says:

"We will take care of this matter in the government."

Vayrynen does not believe that the budget fight has in itself left any scars on the cooperation among the parties.

"Neither I nor the Center Party has used any language that would have hurt anybody.

"It has become ever more evident that the leadership of the SKDL [Finnish Peoples Democratic League] has over the years bound itself to a close cooperation with the Social Democrats. The SKDL has taken a clear, unconditional stand on behalf of the Social Democrats. This is a circumstance which unavoidably divides the political field in two and has an effect on the future by aggravating relations between the Socialists and non-Socialists.

"The Conservative Party is attempting to keep such a low profile that it pleases everyone. The Conservative Party's credibility has suffered since for tactical reasons the party sometimes acts contrary to its own policies."

Of the Center Party's position he states:

"The Center Party has greater responsibility for Finland's affairs than any other party. The party is more united than ever since the party congress at Kouvola. Since we wield much power, it is natural that the other parties will attempt to discredit us.

"In spite of my youth I have experienced so much that outside criticism does not disturb the peace of my soul. We will pull together."

Wish Lists

The minister is an important guest. Power is made concrete in him and his visit represents an opportunity. The memoranda he receives contain wishes concerning an expansion of the local office, an increase in housing production, drawing up of borders for areas, the development of an industrial complex, the construction of a health center, compensation for crop failures, highway improvements, and the construction of a pier.

Another individual cites issues in a different order of priority. "Will the edge hold? Something must be done about loans for young farmers."

Time is flying, on Koulu Street in Joensuu the minister switches cars in a flurry of haste, District Business Director Ensio Simonen attempts to regain what was lost in the conversation. At Kontiolahti the hostess of the town hall has given thought to the minister's possible stomach pains; a deciliter of coffee for 10 cups. Not too strong, but still tastes of coffee.

The local planners had advertised the event as a meeting of the local municipal organization and the Foreign Minister.

Vayrynen is like a focused picture of knowledge and power. He receives the endorsement of one primary organization.

Silvennoinen drives at almost a reckless speed piercing the water puddles on the highway. Food and a memorandum await him at Pyhaselka. They arrive at Outokumpu almost on schedule in the middle of a folk dance. The minister begins by giving information about the President and points out:

"Even in the future the president's most important task will be the management of foreign policy."

"I Am Certain That"

Finns have a built-in sense of moderation. Vayrynen knows this. The applause comes back as a measure of sympathy. Now it is time to go.

The eyelashes do not quiver and there is no hint of the day's effort on his face when he is met at the aircraft: "Hey, Paavo, Paavo hey! You're one hell of a guy."

Vayrynen's hands are raised in a sign of assurance.

"I am certain that I have done the right thing. That is sufficient."

Johannes Virolainen Fears Government Crisis Would Be a Step Into the Unknown

"In the present international and economic situation an abandonment of the present government base would be a step into the unknown," states Diet Chairman Johannes Virolainen.

"Sorsa has predicted for a long time already that the cooperation of the left and the center has exhausted itself. However, it should be remembered that this cooperation began in 1937, it has prevailed for 40 years already, and it continues to be indispensable for this country. Indeed, new sources of energy should be found for it," states Virolainen as he runs around the tractor bed, jumps on the back portion of the tractor, grabs a handful of barley, and continues: "The supplier will take and examine it, this is of quite good quality."

The Chairman of the Diet could be found on Thursday 10 September, during one of the more heated government disputes, on his plot of land in Vironpera, or more precisely the land purchased from his neighbor where he was thrashing barley with his neighbor.

There was water standing in parts of the field, the tractor was equipped with pulleys in the event that the thrasher became stuck in the mud once again.

"If there is no desire to continue with the current government base, we should determine what the alternative is. I am under the assumption that two democratic parties, the Center Party, and the Social Democrats make up a functional government framework."

Chairman Virolainen has run to a near-by dilapidated shed and sits on a dusty piece of plywood on top of a barrel.

"This framework could then, of course, be supplemented from the right and the left. At this time the Center Party and the Social Democrats do not even have a majority together. In my opinion the government base could be expanded to a government of even all the parties. That would be the best solution for Finland."

The neighbor drives the thrashing machine next to the tractor and begins to spurt out barley on to the tractor bed. Virolainen comes awake, jumps up, and leaps over to the bed to look at the kind of kernels that have been reaped.

His boot kicks flattened barley into the ground. "Until now the current base has primarily benefited the Conservative Party. However, I can see no other possibility since the management of affairs also requires the cooperation of the leftwing."

The chairman sits at the steering wheel of his imported Belarus tractor and begins to fumble with the levers.

"Things should be taken care of in a conciliatory manner."

Has the Center Party's policy been conciliatory?

"I do not want to discuss daily politics or the demands of the Center Party."

"I Feel Great Sympathy"

The thrasher being driven by the neighbor jerked along the lumpy field, the chairman observed the slow progress of the machine.

In the capital city constitutional experts and the press are dying with curiosity to know whether Mauno Koivisto is the king pin in demanding that the Diet must also be assembled if the government falls and that the government will not fall before it has received a vote of no-confidence from the Diet.

"In this respect the Constitution is ambiguous. In it it only states that the president will call upon Finnish-born citizens known to be honest and capable as members of the Council of State, who will enjoy the confidence of the Diet."

"The Constitution's ambiguous wording makes many alternatives possible, including the procedure proposed by Koivisto. For example, in Sweden the government must have a permanent parliamentary majority behind it. There the prime minister must have the advance support of parliament. This is in itself a stabilizing factor."

The chairman starts up his Belarus tractor, pushes on the pedals, and kills the engine. "I feel great sympathy for Koivisto's proposal. It would strengthen the position of the Diet."

"I Will Go to Havana"

On Wednesday 9 September the Conservative Party will demand that the chairman convene the Diet immediately. Does not the demand of 43 MP's for a vote of confidence amount to an interpellation, which requires only 20 MP's?

"It does not. There is no reason to convene the Diet prematurely. The Diet decided in June that it would meet again on 25 September. The government has not brought up any issues that would require the Diet to convene. If such is the desire, the government can be dissolved a couple weeks later."

Has the weakened health condition of the President of the Republic and the weakened position resulting from this affected the worsened government situation? "I do not want to say anything about the position of the President of the Republic."

The thrasher comes closer to the tractor. Chairman Virolainen asks what the governing body of the Center Party had decided earlier in the morning. "When I am done with this, I will go to Havana on Saturday."

The chairman will not return from the IPU meeting until the same day that the Diet is convened. The Belarus drives off, the barley must be harvested before the end of the week.

Mauno Koivisto on the Moment He Became Temporary President: "It Was Terrible"

"It was a terrible situation. Kesäraanta was full of people, officials, the whole government, and the outside of the house was surrounded by the press. To a certain extent I was encircled by two rings of people," Mauno Koivisto describes the moment when he became temporary president.

Mauno Koivisto fled to his summer home in Tahtela for the weekend to avoid the stresses of the budget conflict and the pressures brought on by the duties of the president's office. On Sunday evening Koivisto felt relieved and relaxed, one crisis was over.

Shaking his hand, I asked what is now the correct title. "Prime Minister. I am still the Prime Minister, I am only performing the duties of the President."

"Then what is Eino Uusitalo," asks Tellervo Koivisto.

"The Deputy Prime Minister."

The government's fate was resolved early Friday morning on 11 September 1981 when a budget agreement was reached. This was preceded by the news of the 1-month sick leave to be taken by the President of the Republic. Koivisto had been informed of the sick leave and his temporary position the night before.

The last time a Finnish president requested a sick leave was 29 years ago. A Social Democrat has temporarily performed the duties of president only once before, 54 years ago when Vaino Tanner performed the duties of president during Lauri Kristian Relander's illness.

"It Was Wisest to Wait"

"I do not know for sure who knew about the President's intended sick leave the night before it was announced. Uusitalo and I knew and also the Attorney General.

"At that time it was most important to remove the press, calm the situation. I made an appeal that Kesäranta be vacated and then you left. I also noted that there was no sense in attempting to reach a budget agreement on Thursday evening, but that it was wisest to wait until Friday morning."

Did the news of the President's sick leave have an effect on reaching an agreement on the budget?

"In any event time would have come to an end on the following day. In the press my words have been interpreted to mean that the sick leave was a decisive factor in bringing about an agreement. I did not say that."

Precisely quoted Koivisto stated to the press on Friday that: "Is it not the case in society that there should not be many problems at the same time". This was now interpreted in the way they wanted to interpret it.

On Thursday the new proposal no longer contained any items which would have endangered the continuation of government cooperation. After that it was only a question of the determining how much the loans should be increased in order to provide additional funds for tax cuts.

The situation was resolved on Thursday morning when the Center Party presented its resolution. In it were two central points: a tax on electricity, which was in itself a rather small issue, approximately 60 million markkas, and the reintroduction

of child subsidy payments by employers. The final proposal was constructed in such a way that these portions were left out.

"Originally, the idea was to guarantee full-scale inflation adjustments by reducing pension payments. On the debit side compensation was made for this by reintroducing child subsidy payments for employers. It was such a symmetrical proposal, completely neutral in its effect on enterprises. Earlier the structure was slightly more complicated, a three-stage rocket, but then a decision was made on this two-stage rocket.

"When the reintroduction of the child subsidy payment was dropped, the only thing that was left was an increase in borrowing, in which possibilities were limited."

"Something Always Leaked"

Koivisto drew his own conclusion from the Center Party's resolution and outlined the final way out of the budget conflict.

On Thursday evening the negotiations were once again at a standstill when Paavo Vayrynen told the Council of State's information section that the Prime Minister had proposed a "genuine compromise", a withdrawal of the full-scale inflation adjustment in the tax tables. The ministers of the SKDL, Kalevi Kivistö and Jouko Kajanoja, stood behind the railing and heard how Vayrynen was selling the negotiations. On the spot both of them announced to a dozen members of the press that the proposal approved by Vayrynen would not even be considered.

"As presented it was an unacceptable proposal for the SKDL.

"The suction force of the press was so strong and there were so many people at the negotiations that something always leaked out."

"Demands Were Only Repeated"

"This whole last week of budget negotiations was exhausting and superfluous. Most of the time it was just a waste of time, it did not result in anything. Demands were only repeated.

"Negotiations lasting through the night are difficult. Fatigue makes a person irritable. On the other hand, when sessions do not run through the night and one sleeps, in the morning feeling rested we once again proceed from our original positions and it is a long time before we get to where we left off.

"But it is the same in income-policy [labor contract] negotiations. When there are still several months left to negotiate, meetings are held only now and then and it is only at the last minute when an agreement is already approaching an impasse that negotiations last all night. Perhaps the reason for this is that then it is possible to say that even though we negotiated all night, nothing more could be accomplished."

However, there was no reason to stay up all night between Thursday and Friday. "We knew that the final squeeze was all that was left and in this situation it was not even worth attempting it."

"This Government Is Historic"

Mauno Koivisto has been accused of forcefully attempting to keep the government together. In the press Koivisto has been mentioned as a king pin, who with the help of the government wages a violent power struggle.

"We cause governments to fall over trivial issues. Particularly, if we compare it to how difficult it is to form a government. It seems that we are unreasonably ready to dissolve a government which was put together with a lot of hard work. This has always been my thinking.

"Government crises can result in a dissolution of the Diet even though the dissolution of a government is seldom the result of any circumstances in the Diet.

"Officials have calculated that from the point of view of government economy a government crisis is expensive. The formation of a new government is always more expensive than keeping an old government together. A weak agreement is less expensive than a full-blown conflict.

"In this budget conflict it was a question of a few hundred million markkas while the budget's final sum is approximately 65,000 million.

"We have said in the government that this government is in many respects historic. Miettunen's emergency government sat with the budget for 3 weeks, but then dissolved itself. We have sat with the budget longer than any other government that has been able to present a budget to the Diet without dissolving itself."

"There Is Reason to Bite One's Tongue"

Koivisto's new position as the temporary replacement of the President is reflected in his statements. He does not assess the acts of others or what has been left undone. "Even Vayrynen seems to have been forgiven in SUOMENMAA [Center Party organ]."

When he talks about the difficulties facing the government, his words are chosen with caution.

"If we think about the period when Uusitalo is the Deputy Prime Minister, the issues that will come before the government are approval of territorial borders and compensation for crop failures. In talking about these issues one must bite one's tongue."

Koivisto will perform the duties of the President at Kesäraanta, the prime minister's official residence. "I also have an office in the Bank of Finland and in the Council of State, but there will probably be no reason for me to work in either one of them." A more precise division of duties has not yet been defined. "I have not yet been in contact with the President."

"On Saturday I separated some beetle-infested logs for immediate burning. This did not require much thought. I also carried some rocks into the ditches in the nearby road in the field. A neighbor had driven over it with a tractor and the road did not hold up."

"We have been able to spend the time here completely in peace," states Tellervo Koivisto.

After the interview Koivisto had to go to a volleyball practice. "We shall see," commented Tellervo Koivisto.

"Who are going, will go," answers Mauno Koivisto.

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CENTER PARTY WOULD DELAY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION TO SPRING

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 28 Sep 81 p 9

[Article: "Electoral Elections Contemplated for Beginning of Next Year Already"]

[Text] The parties are already making preparations for the presidential election; they are making preparations for the possibility that Urho Kekkonen will no longer return to his office after his sick leave.

Electoral elections could be held in January already, but the Center Party would like to delay them until March-April.

There has already been a preliminary discussion of the nomination of candidates in the leadership organs of the parties. For example, this issue comes up before the Politburo of the Communist Party today.

The parties will be able to nominate candidates within 2--4 weeks after President Kekkonen has left office. Of the large parties the Conservative Party and the Center Party will elect their candidates at party congresses, the Social Democrats in the Party Council, and the Communists will determine their candidate in the SKP [Finnish Communist Party] Central Committee. The SKDL [Finnish Peoples Democratic League] will select its candidate at meetings of the Joint Governing Body and the Joint Council, which can be held together or separately.

The provision in the Constitution concerning an early election is short and ambiguous: "If a president's disability is permanent, a new president who will assume the duties of the president immediately after the elections is to be elected as soon as possible."

The Ministry of Justice has now clarified the order in which an election is to be held in the event that President Kekkonen leaves office in the middle of his term. The intent is to apply the provision concerning a dissolution vote in the Diet to it. The government would stipulate that elections are to be held within 75--110 days after the incumbent president has left office.

In theory the Diet could also elect the next president, but this would require an overwhelming unanimity with respect to a candidate. Such an exception law would also require a five-sixths majority, or 34 MP's would be able to reject it.

A Difficult Situation in the Center Party

In the naming of presidential candidates and electoral candidates the most difficult situation is in the Center Party, which is divided in half with respect to the nomination of a presidential candidate. The party's leadership wants to nominate Director Ahti Karjalainen of the Bank of Finland, who has already begun a campaign tour of the country. However, there is also broad support among the party membership for Diet Chairman Johannes Virolainen.

The presidential candidate of the Center Party is nominated by a party congress and those very same representatives who in June 1980 voted Virolainen out of his position as chairman by a vote of 1736--1611 and elected in his place Paavo Vayrynen, a supporter of Ahti Karjalainen.

The Center Party leadership is now energetically making the rounds in an attempt to get party congress representatives to back Karjalainen since in the Center Party it is feared that Virolainen's popularity has grown since the party congress.

In addition to these internal problems, the Center Party fears that the probable presidential candidate of the Social Democrats, Mauno Koivisto, has obtained too great of a lead. The Center Party would like to delay the election until March-April so that the party would have time to assemble its ranks behind the presidential campaign of Ahti Karjalainen.

Commerce and industry and the leaders of the party closest to commerce and industry, the Conservative Party, are leaning toward Ahti Karjalainen even though the party will nominate its former chairman, Bank Director Harri Holkeri, as its candidate.

SKP Sought a Cultural Figure

The Communists and the People's Democrats are in a difficult situation. The party does not have a clearly defined presidential candidate even though the names of Aarne Saarinen, Arvo Aalto, Ele Alenius, Paavo Aitio, Anna-Liisa Korpinen, and Kalevi Kivistö have been mentioned. The Communists have attempted to find such a cultural figure who is not a People's Democrat, but would agree to become their presidential candidate. Such an individual has not been found.

The People's Democrats are also divided in their attitude toward Mauno Koivisto and Ahti Karjalainen. The SKDL's socialists have adopted a positive attitude toward Mauno Koivisto. The SKP's Taistoites are supporting Ahti Karjalainen. A portion of the Communists could approve a social democratic president if he is someone other than Koivisto, for example, Kalevi Sorsa.

President's Kekkonen's sick leave will end on 10 October unless his physician proposes that it be extended. According to people versed in the law there must be valid medical reasons for an extension and hopes for improvement in order to assume the demanding work of the office of president. Most recently on Monday the President's physicians announced that his condition has worsened.

It is considered possible that if President Kekkonen's disability is confirmed as permanent, the government will stipulate that elections are to be held on 17-18 January. The electoral college could convene on 26 January to elect a new president, who would assume the office of president on 27 January 1982.

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BRIEFS

USSR IMPACT ON PRESIDENTIAL SITUATION--"The selection of the next president will not entail the kind of struggle over Finland's basic foreign policy line that occurred in connection with the 1956 and 1962 presidential elections," stated SKDL [Finnish Peoples Democratic League] First Secretary Jorma Hentila on Sunday in Vammala. Hentila surmised that a candidate who would attempt to change Finland's foreign policy would not even come near the possibility of being elected. Hentila took offence that partisan power aspirations are cloaked in the foreign policy mantle of the current presidential discussion. Hentila referred to the article written under the initials P. M. in Center Party's SUOMENMAA and to the main article of the Taistoite Communists' TIEDONANTAJA, which have aroused considerable discussion. "The candidates who are seriously contending for the position of president belong to 'Kekkonen's majority' to borrow SUOMENMAA's expression. Therefore, it is arbitrary to create the impression being created by SUOMENMAA and TIEDONANTAJA that only the Center Party candidate -- whoever he may be --would follow Kekkonen's policies. The Center Party just as the SDP, naturally, has the right to do everything within its power to put its own man in the president's office. But erring in favor of a forceful emphasis on the power aspirations of partisan policies can lead down the wrong path. The most important thing in the election of a president is not the promotion of the power aspirations of the Center Party, the SDP, or any other party, but finding an individual who is broad-minded, progressive, and capable in foreign policy," stated Hentila in Vammala at the 75th anniversary of the Workers' Association. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 Sep 81 p 9] 10576

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Krasucki: CGT STRATEGY; CHANGE; GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Paris LE MATIN in French 30 Jul 81 pp 6-7

[Interview with Henri Krasucki by Pierre Feydel and Jean-Pierre Gonquet; date and place not given]

[Text] At 1100 hours yesterday morning, Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy met with Henri Krasucki, confederal secretary of the CGT [General Confederation of Labor], at the Hotel-Matignon. There is no lack of subjects of discussion for the head of the government and the No 2 man in the largest French labor confederation. If one is to believe the leaders of this great organization, the redefinition of its objectives, given the new government, is not so obvious.

Moreover, Georges Seguy and Krasucki told the most recent meeting of the national confederal committee of the CGT that the new political situation meant that that trade union organization would have to revise its action. In order to learn more, we asked Krasucki, confederal secretary in charge of organizing action for demands and editor of VIE OUVRIERE, to grant us an interview. The new strategy of the CGT became evident in the course of the questions and answers. The General Confederation of Labor is lucid about its partners, pragmatic about the social, economic and political content of its demands, but aggressive about the importance of change.

Aware of the international difficulties, the handicap of the administration of the old government and the fierce resistance on the part of management, Krasucki is still optimistic. He is counting on the government and the parliamentary majority to push management organizations to accept real social progress. He is also relying on the wage earners: workers and therefore members of the CGT, in order to go further and even faster than the new government sometimes proposes. For him, it is the democratic expression of the workers that is the most important element, in companies as well as in public life.

Krasucki and the CGT do not intend to let themselves be passed up by Pierre Mauroy's government. This is one way of affirming trade union independence, including with respect to communist ministers bound by the solidarity of a government team that must keep the promises of a socialist president.

[Question] There is at least one thing on which Francois Ceyrac and you seem to be in agreement: France does not now have a social democratic government.

[Answer] In answer to a question, the president of the CNPF [National Council of French Employers] did in fact say: "I am not sure that what happened in France in June was a victory of social democracy. If this were the case, it would be a lesser evil," he added, "but I am not sure." You know, what makes the CNPF sad rarely makes us sad. Ceyrac could get along with a leftist management policy of capitalism if he had to. We could not. We have never concealed that fact. We think that this may not be that. And we are among those working toward that goal. Moreover, what the government is undertaking is moving in an interesting direction. That is all the better, even if it is not everything the CGT is asking for in its program.

[Question] And therefore, you are satisfied?

[Answer] We are very happy that that situation exists. For so many years, we have fought for it. Naturally, the change has not been accomplished, but conditions making it possible have been created. We view this situation as something that quite rightly gives rise to a lot of hope. Moreover, we have reasons for thinking that we have had something to do with it. For years, we have been saying that the employment situation, the closing of the plants, was intolerable. When we organized demonstrations, actions and strikes, we said that those things could not be tolerated indefinitely. The government at that time and the CNPF took that for a bluff. They were wrong. They had better take us seriously. Others said to us: "That is nothing but show, spectacle." Now they are discovering files such as those of the Willot brothers. They are indignant. So much the better. We knew this and we told them so. We had a great deal to do with the desire to get rid of the last government. That should be known and recognized at least.

[Question] How would you define that will for change?

[Answer] It is necessarily a very strong current among the people in itself, even before the content is considered. It is first of all a feeling of rejection. The common ground between all of those who helped to create the new situation is that they know what they do not want any more of: no more unemployment, no further lowering of the standard of living, no more young people, whether or not they are graduates, who do not know what they will do after they get out of school. We want no more of that. It is extremely vast, a giant groundswell. Concerning the change itself, there are all kinds of ideas. There are differences, nuances, disagreements and even oppositions. It is a very complex phenomenon. We have used the term "composite."

But did the people in 1936 know exactly what they had to do? That was a mixture also. At the time of the Liberation, was there homogeneity with regard to the outcome? Of course not. But one must always take the broad people's movements into consideration, provided that one sees them as they are, with lucidity, in order to situate others and oneself.

[Question] The CGT takes its position only in reference to others?

[Answer] Certainly not. We have a program different from that of the government. It goes farther. But some important objectives of the government coincide with those of the CGT. This is far from being unimportant. We also realize that within the left, not everyone wants the same thing. Some have limited objectives; others go further. In the trade unions and parties, forces, people and groups would be content with a leftist management of the crisis. Some are sensitive to the pressures of management. They do not have the same firmness as the CGT. We have seen this with respect to negotiations on the work week.

Despite the handicaps, despite the international environment, the Common Market and all the rest, we say: "Yes, change is possible." We have no illusions about our adversaries or our partners. One must not have. Quite simply, there are enough forces interested in seeing the change succeed.

[Question] Precisely what do you expect in the CGT from a leftist union government?

[Answer] That it bring about the reforms it announced. We have a positive but nuanced view. There are encouraging things, others that are not going well or not rapidly enough. The SMIC [Interoccupational Minimum Growth Wage] is not enough. They could have approached the price of gasoline in another way. The same is true for public rates. It was not necessary to raise them so much. We say, "Be careful!" On the other hand, the tax measures in the overall budget are going in the right direction. If the government wants to go further, it will have the CGT with it. But they are dragging their feet with regard to freedoms, just as they are for trade union rights. They are still fiddling with the amnesty law. It would be the height if a bunch of people received amnesty for crimes committed, while trade unionists, unjustly penalized for their action, would not be covered by the law. But we tell the workers, "Even a perfect leftist government...."

Perfect Government

[Question] How would it be made up, in your opinion?

[Answer] That matters little; it is not a current problem. A government without faults does not exist. Nor does a perfect trade union. The governmental team is facing considerable difficulties: the resistance on the part of capital and outside pressure. The workers must help it. We must counterbalance the resistance and the pressure and even, if necessary, the government itself. That is how we understand progressive democracy. We do not want a single party, a trade union that would merely be a driving force for some party or an instrument of a government. Trade unionism must play its own role.

It needs to do so. If it does not play that role, we can rapidly see the consequences. On that point, our ideas have been clear for a long time.

[Question] You are alluding to Poland?

[Answer] Yes. But that can also be seen in the West. Our positions have been clear as long as the CGT has existed. Our heritage is anarchistic trade unionism and also reformism. We have gone beyond those two things, while retaining what there was good in each. That is part of our originality in the union movement.

[Question] Some believe that you have lost many members and a great deal of credibility by lining up with the Communist Party. Even some members of your confederation are said to make this analysis.

[Answer] It is made by people who do not look at reality. It is a subjective reasoning, not an analysis. That leads nowhere. They are just pleasing themselves. The CGT acts in terms of its own orientations. Everyone was happy with the 40th Congress. We are applying it.

[Question] And yet, there are members and federal leaders who are not in agreement?

[Answer] They have the right not to be. What interests me is the confederation as such. One cannot say at one time that the CGT is too homogeneous and then complain when someone thinks differently. That is the way it is with a big organization. There are organs elected to complete their term. That is written in black and white, clearly enough to be undebatable. That is the document approved by the congress. On that basis, we are an organization that lives and evolves in time.

At the last congress, we even criticized our own behavior during the period of the Joint Program. We said: "Careful, the CGT was too involved, too mixed up in a program that belonged to an alliance of parties." We nearly substituted it for the CGT program.

[Question] And today, concerning the PC-PS government agreement, what is your opinion?

[Answer] We have signed nothing and we do not want to sign anything. The CGT is the CGT.

[Question] For you, it is a political or tactical agreement?

[Answer] Manifestly, it is a political agreement that is expressed by a real government with socialist and communist ministers.

[Question] Francois Mitterrand was not forced to put communist ministers in the government.

[Answer] It was quite right and normal that he should do so. Otherwise, he would have surprised many of those who voted for him. Basing his choices solely on the election score of the PS would have made people doubt his intentions. That proves that the government started out to do something. It is now that important things are beginning.

Social Progress

[Question] Let us speak about them then. Concerning the work week, you seem to expect everything of the government and Parliament, which will pass a law upon its return or later. What about the traditional policy?

[Answer] They tried to present the agreement made with management, which we did not sign, as a text on which everything had to depend. That is not true at all.

A law is needed to replace the 40-hour law, but everything must not depend on that law. We are going to negotiate in the branches. Then the government will have to assume its responsibility. Pierre Mauroy was perfectly clear on this when he summed up his position for us at the Hotel Matignon.

It is a perfectly logical process. We know that there are things that can be settled with management. We shall go as far as possible. There are others that have to be settled with Parliament. Everything in its own time. We can talk with the CNPF in the branches also and immediately negotiate in the enterprises where they can obtain agreements. After that, the focal point is the law. The CNPF does not expect to limit us to a single scheme in which it would be our only interlocutor or that we would expect everything from the law. We wanted to conclude an agreement with the CNPF if it could sign a text that would enable us to move forward.

Nor then, the CNPF is asking for things in exchange: night work for women, work during the weekend, the possibility in some branches of adopting provisions contrary to the law, and so on. There can be no question of bartering. Social progress cannot be traded away. I give you something you do not have and in exchange, you give me something you already have. That does not work. The CNPF wanted its own demands to be taken into consideration. Otherwise, Yvon Chotard was threatening to stop there. But management cannot now engage in such blackmail. It is enough for the unions to stand firm and demand respect.

Once more, management has tried a political maneuver. I told them: "And now about the 39 hours, you want the CGT not to be able to sign. You want to isolate it and confront the government with a fait accompli, a management-union front for the 30 hours. The government bill and the majority deputies would then say: 'We are not going to be more unionist than the unionists themselves.'" This is contrary to democracy! We have to leave this question of the 39 or 38 hours open.

[Question] The deputies have a majority. If they want to reduce the work week to 38 hours, they can after all vote it into law?

[Answer] I would quite rightly feel bad as a unionist if the National Assembly should pass a law that goes further than we do. That would not make our bargaining ability look very good! The CGT will not be found in such a situation easily. And then there is the matter of our trade union independence. There are perhaps people who would be satisfied with the 39 hours and whom a trade union-management agreement on the question would please. Then they would not have to take a stand. We do not want to let anyone out of assuming his responsibilities.

[Question] You intend to stand just as firm on retirement at 60 for men, 55 for women and wage earners being subjected to hard labor as on the 38 hours?

[Answer] Absolutely. There is the problem of employment, 2 million unemployed. Management does not want to hire them. At 39 hours, Chotard has said that no jobs will be created. At 38 hours, management will be harder pressed.

Retirement at 60 should be a right for everyone. When we were demanding it a few years ago, management said: "You want to throw people out." Now management is

throwing them out. There must be a law to open up a right. That is all, And there must be a retirement pension that people can live on. Do you realize that those who are retiring today are the workers who made France's recovery after the Liberation possible?

[Question] And yet, all of that will be very expensive.

[Answer] Naturally, that will cost money, but the brand-new companies suddenly closed also cost money. So do gifts to management that has acted like crooks. In recent years, investments were public and private profits constantly rose. They were not reinvested in France. What have the capitalists done with all that money they made through the work of others? It is management that should help companies in difficulty. Labor industries could perhaps receive the help of those whose productivity is higher because of the new technology, robots and other devices. Why should the workers pay for these differences? We are among those who are working to see that society is no longer a jungle.

[Question] Do the nationalizations seem to you to work in that direction?

[Answer] Certainly. We are going to speak out on them. Our program is broader. It is not that we are nationalization fanatics. We are not fanatical about anything. We believe that since the country's economy is in trouble, we must have enough ways of intervening. We are not for state socialism. We are for turning the decisive means of production over to the nation. It is not the same thing.

That is a subject on which you must hear us out. The firms were set up in keeping with a logic of capitalist profit. All that must be examined, discussed case by case. The government will then assume its responsibilities. But we must rapidly nationalize everything promised. And be careful about the nationalization of "empty shells." Some groups are trying to sell off their ownership. The government must tell them firmly that it is useless, that they cannot escape. And that there will be sanctions if need be. Trade union action can help to put an end to these practices.

[Question] Do you believe that the public enterprises must necessarily lead the way in the area of social progress?

[Answer] If they are well managed, why not? The times of playing deaf in the enterprise are over. Outside, one can engage in politics, speak, vote, decide, write graffiti, but as soon as one steps over the threshold, that's it! That cannot go on. One must be able to discuss one's work. Wage earners often know better than anyone how to organize in order to produce in their offices or shops.

[Question] You are for shop councils?

[Answer] Naturally. Let us begin with experiments. That is an interesting idea. They must not take the place of unions. But let us try. Self-management is a whole apprenticeship process, so let us begin.

[Question] The government does not seem to want to extend the rights of enterprise committees right away, even if it wants to apply the law on the matter more strictly. What is your opinion?

[Answer] Respect for the law would be a start. As for the rest, when we talk about it, we shall see. We will ask the workers to express their views at the proper time. Naturally, we want to talk about social guarantees and the role of workers and their opinion on production processes. We shall be independent and critical, but constructive.

[Question] You have never been so positive. Will this last?

[Answer] Why not? We are in a situation opposite that of 1947: cold war, the ouster of communist ministers, break with the CGT, a wave of reactionary policies. Today, we have the beginning of a progressive movement with a government resulting from universal suffrage and a CGT that will play the role it has to play. Beyond the caricatures, people will see what the CGT truly is! We shall support everything that is good, and we shall not hide our disagreements from the government. We shall explain them to the workers, telling them: "You have to work for change. Let no one, not even your union, think for you. Assume your responsibilities. Be active citizens in your company and elsewhere. You have to get involved. It is not going to just fall into your laps."

[Question] You will be accused of going too far.

[Answer] I do not see a single area in which they can say that the CGT goes too far. We talk; we make proposals. Trade union action is very pragmatic, even if they have a certain view of society and clear objectives. And the CGT will not give up its role as a union.

Today, the most important thing is the expression of the workers. And from that standpoint, we have not exhausted all the resources of democracy. You know that democracy is a powerful means of social progress. It does not eliminate conflicts, but it changes their forms: doing better with fewer strikes and workers truly involved.

11,464
CSO: 3100/988

GEORGIOS MAVROS CRITICIZED FOR JOINING PASOK

Athens ELEVTHEROS KOSMOS in Greek 20 Sep 81 pp 1, 10

Text Political observers are waiting with particular interest today's first campaign speech in Salonica by ND leader G. Rallis. The speech will be telecast within the framework of the broadcasting by the Greek Radio and Television (ERT) of the speeches of political leaders and the relevant agreement between PASOK and the present ND government.

Interest is mainly focused on what Rallis will say--and what perhaps he may reveal--about Andr. Papandreu and whether he will touch on other subjects. The second speech ERT will televise will be that of Papandreu when he speaks next Saturday at Ioannina.

In the meantime, National Defense Minister Ev. Averof reproved the G. Mavros decision to join PASOK--an action he characterized as an enigmatic agreement concealing other more substantial benefits. Averof said that through the Mavros action Papandreu aims at covering up his Marxism "behind various posters." As for Mavros, he expressed wonder at how he Mavros could turn against the Right when he continually for 30 years participated actively in the broad Right.

At the same time, Democratic Center Union (EDIK) leader I. Zygdis pointed out in a statement that he was surprised when reading the slates of the two large parties and added: "Such opportunism, such lack of consistency, such fortune-hunting is unthinkable." All this was said and done while the presidential decree was issued yesterday dissolving the Chamber of Deputies and in Athens as well as in other large cities a pure preelectoral atmosphere was ushered in; the campaign formally began.

Averof on Papandreu and Mavros

Averof's statement about Mavros' joining PASOK is as follows: "The publication of the Papandreu and Mavros letters was revealing for the first and enigmatic for the second. By asking Mavros to cooperate in the campaign, Papandreu revealed the size of his lack of faith in the PASOK forces. After his supercilious statements about his refusal to cooperate with any party and about viable majority of votes, he asks for help from Mavros who despite his noble and arduous efforts was unable to rally on his side even those small Center forces which Pemazoglou, Baltazis and Venizelos assembled. Now Papandreu asks his help to fight ND.

"This is another example of the PASOK tactic of saying and believing some things and implementing different ones. It is a useful new revelation, another confirmation that in his effort to have his Marxism forgotten Papandreu is attempting to hide behind various signs... The facts are clear.

"On the contrary, the position of George Mavros is enigmatic. Because his statement about ousting ND is not convincing. Because my friend and leader of the non-existent PARKE [Array of Center] participated for 30 years in the broad Right which concluded the civil war; the broad Right of the ardent anti-communists, the late Sofoklis Venizelos and Georgios Papandreu; the broad Right of Karamanlis in 1974 which restored democracy in Greece. There must be some other more substantial agreements with PASOK in order for Mavros alone among other Center leaders to decide for such enigmatic cooperation.

"Does he agree to withdraw from NATO? To withdraw from EEC? With the nationalizations of the cement and iron industries, the mines, the import trade, the insurances...and whatever else? Or does he agree with the abolition of private education with the excellent representatives of which he is closely connected? Or does he agree with the symbolic replacement of the Eleftherios Venizelos pictures with that of Aris Veloukhiotis [political leader of the National People's Liberation Army /ELAS/]? And what is the meaning of the simultaneous cooperation with Manolis Glezos [former member, KKE Central Committee cadre]? Convincing revelations for the one [Papandreu], interesting questions for the other [Mavros]. The mature and proud Greeks will undoubtedly take into consideration these things. For this reason PASOK's defeat is certain."

Zigdis on Tickets

On the other hand, Zigdis said the following in a statement: "No matter how much we are used to the lack of responsibility on the part of many representatives of the political world, the way the slates of the two large parties were put together provokes but surprise. Such opportunism, such lack of consistency, such fortune-hunting were considered unthinkable even as late as yesterday. But for a large number of politicians their only objective is how to be elected to the Chamber of Deputies and they are not at all reluctant to betray their ideology and their party, to deny even their own personal history... The winning of a parliamentary seat is a goal in itself and not a means for the defense of ideas and the protection of the general interest.

"Thus, without wanting to, I recalled again the reflection I made in my cell in Korydallos [prison] during the years of dictatorship: "In recent years, there has been no lack of culture, or courage, or money in Greece. There has been lack of ethos."

"It was indeed the lack of ethos that brought upon us the dictatorship and with it the Cyprus tragedy. Therefore, the question is raised fatefully: Where will this widespread amorality of candidates and party leaders lead us today? This oppressive question confounds a large section of thinking Greeks and will make them, we hope, give the right answer in order to save the country."

7520
CSO: 4621/8

PAPANDREOU TO SUPPORT MAVROS FOR PRESIDENT

Athens EPIKAIRA in Greek No 686, 24-30 Sep 81 pp 18-19

Excerpt PASOK President Papandreu promised Mavros the presidency of the republic in order for the latter to join PASOK, according to EPIKAIRA's reliable information. Papandreu promised to propose Mavros--who until 2 days ago was leader of the Array of the Center Party (PARKE)--for the presidency when Karamanlis' term terminates or even earlier "if for any reason Karamanlis leaves office." EPIKAIRA's information includes also the real reasons which led Papandreu to this maneuver. PASOK's leader felt that Mavros' presence in the campaign was necessary and useful in order to allay the anxieties and fears of a large section of PASOK sympathizers who, according to assessment by the party's executive committee, remained cautious out of fear of the many and extreme theses enunciated by Papandreu from time to time. But beyond this, Papandreu believes that in this way he secures a person suitable for placing, in the event he assumes power, in sensitive positions such as that of the Ministry of Defense, for example.

In any case, the entry of Mavros into PASOK brought about various reactions from all sides, even from within the party which hosts him.

On the other hand the ND rally in Salomica--and in Arta--which was characterized as "large" raised the hopes of the government front, notwithstanding the disagreement as to areas the audience came from.

Finally, and while the preelectoral activities continue intensively, the European Council approved unanimously and despite the furious reactions of the Turks a report recognising the continental shelf of the islands...

The Mavros Affair

It all started suddenly last Thursday morning (17 September). At the very time when political observers were waiting for the announcement concerning the list of candidates of the United Center, the report reached the newspaper offices that the old leader of the Democratic Center Union (EDIK) was joining PASOK. The report was confirmed later in the afternoon when the "friendly" letters the two leaders exchanged were made public. In his letter Papandreu stated that the "battle for ousting ND from power and for change demanded the participation in the struggle of the responsible anti-Right centrist forces and their most authoritative spokesman and continuer of tradition..."

In his letter Mavros said that he was moved by the Papandreu letter and added: "My participation in the struggle to oust the Right and bring about the change is self-evident. I gladly respond to your invitation to fight together in the great struggle before us."

In a statement Papandreu "welcomed" Mavros to PASOK and applauded the "responsibility, fighting spirit and his Mavros ethos." But the reactions which followed, despite the troubles of the campaign, were unprecedented in dimension and pungency. At first many PASOK members especially characterized the Mavros shift as "acceptance of stolen goods," "reward of desertion," "adulteration of the movement," "invasion of the movement by plutocrats," etc. The left wing of the party particularly spoke about "dangerous openings to Natoist defenders," etc. ND spoke about a "one-sided" coalition and warned that shipowner G. Mavros "is traveling in the political sea with flags of convenience."

Bitter also were the statements of political leaders who had collaborated with Mavros in establishing first PARKE and later EPAK [expansion unknown].

They Were Dumbfounded

N. Venizelos said he was dumbfounded because the very day before he had been discussing with Mavros details about the reunification of the Center. "I was stupified and I am deeply sorry."

His close collaborators Mangakis and F. Mavros could not believe the report and avoided making a statement.

The Party of Democratic Socialism KODISO expressed its bewilderment at the decision by Mavros who until the previous day appeared "as the absolute leader of the centrist forces, while at the same time he was negotiating 'his personal standing.' KODISO pointed out that after such action by Mavros 'his appeal to centrist votes would be at the least a challenge.'

Zigdis, after commenting on the Mavros desertion with bitter humor and pointing out that few people will be surprised by his opportunism, observed: "However, his joining PASOK will fatefully create many serious doubts as concerns the kind of 'great change' this party promises when, for achieving such change, he resorts to the mobilization of so many classic and 'nonprivileged' representatives such as Mavros."

On the other hand, the fact was surprising that the Mavros action provoked reactions also among the parties which have no direct relation with the PASOK-Mavros "transaction" such as are the leftist and extreme Right. Objective observers speak about "a general condemnation." Responding to the criticisms against him, Mavros stressed that his position "in the electoral struggle is a political action for which he bears full responsibility" and characterized the attacks against him as "orchestrated and contemptible and lowering public life to a level of wretchedness."

What They Promised

And now the "theory" behind the reasons for the desertion. Circles in the Mavros environment pointed out that he decided to be PASOK's "comrade-in-arms" in order

to facilitate the ousting of the Right. They added that in the new government he will assume the deputy premiership and the Ministry of Defense (not of Foreign Affairs). A friend of his said characteristically: "Things are simple. At this moment Andreas has no one capable of passing through the gates of the Greek Pentagon."

Center sources were discussing the new "battle-shy" Mavros who, they say, three times in the past avoided battle and "put to flight." Once in 1958 when with a smashing majority the Liberal Party offered him the party's leadership, he declined for fear of Sophoklis Venizelos and then again in 1964 when he was the undisputed successor to G. Papandreu and his first minister. But he deserted and found refuge in the National Bank. And, finally, the present situation...

EPIKAIRO has information that Papandreu promised to propose Mavros for the presidency of the republic at the end of the Karamanlis' term or if the present president wanted to retire. This information adds another dimension to the generally inexplicable Mavros action but also reveals the Papandreu's anxiety about his lack of bourgeois support.

Papandreu's cadres who are active in the periphery of the bourgeois world and on whose vote they depend for capturing power, have detected long ago this world's reluctance and reservations regarding Papandreu's promises. They believe that the Mavros entry into PASOK will outflank this obstacle. On the other hand, the presence of a conservative politician in the PASOK ranks assures, according to the same cadres, representation in sensitive ministries such as the Ministries of Defense, Foreign Affairs, etc.

"Counterattack" by ND

Friends and opponents agree that the Salonica ND rally was large. The estimates differ in numbers--the friends put the crowd at 200,000 and the opponents at a smaller figure. They also disagree on where the crowds came from. The friends speak about a Salonica rally while the opponents call it Pan-Makedonian (that people came from all parts of Makedonia).

The second ND rally in Arta also was admittedly large. The TO VIMA reported characteristically that "it indeed was impressive in size."

At both gatherings Rallis delivered a very sharp attack against PASOK--he "strongly counterattacked PASOK," his friends claimed.

7520
CSO: 4621/9

KKE-INTERIOR LEADER DELIVERS CAMPAIGN SPEECH

Athens I AVGI in Greek 3 Sep 81 p 3

[Text] "The KKE [Greek Communist Party]-interior is entering the battle of the elections with its battle flag unfurled to defeat the right, to effect a solid change, and to win in the ideas of renewal."

B. Drakopoulos emphasized this yesterday, declaring the beginning of the pre-election campaign of the party to a packed and vibrating audience in the Sporting Theater.

"The time of the elections," said B. Drakopoulos, "has arrived. In 45 days our people will be called to vote. The party and its organizations together with the organizations of its youth, of "Rigas," but also together with all its friends and followers, those who are interested in the victory of the renewal ideas, are taking their battle stations for the electoral fight; for the defeat of the right and for solid change; for strengthening the KKE-interior with parliament seats and votes; for the renewal of the communist movement. So that the communists of our country again can become stars in the social and political developments."

ND [New Democracy]: Return to the Phantoms

Referring to the "line" of the ND, Mr Drakopoulos said "The present government of the right, confronted with the continuous lessening of its power and retracting its declarations about a "mild climate" etc., is returning to the old bankrupt line of "nationalism," anticomunism and is dividing the people.

"Faced with the possibility of being removed from power, the government of the ND projects imaginary dangers, while the real dangers come from its own policies and practices. A few days ago, on 29 August, it exploited the celebration of the armed forces to attack the progressive forces of the country and again project the scarecrow of civil war for the purpose of fantacizing the followers of the right, of scaring the conservative layers and of being liked by the extreme rightist forces in view of the elections. At the same time, it follows the line of the 'electoral grants' that empty the government treasury without solving any real problem and with the result that these too will be paid by the people at the end."

The government an instrument of the electoral campaign.

"The government," continued the secretary of the KE [Central Committee] of the KKE-interior, "is promoting party interests on television. Television has been converted to a publicity instrument of the ND, scandalously projecting the activity of the government as "projects" that take root quickly and without any planned program, without anyone knowing when they will end, for the purpose of winning over the citizens who are interested in these projects. If one considers the projects that have been launched lately, he will come to the conclusion that in the last three months, probably more projects have been started than during the past four years.

"On the other hand, it restricts the projection of party activity of the other parties as much as it can.

"This position of the ND underlines how difficult and hard the campaign of the democratic forces must be to defeat the right, to push the right out of power, and to promote a government of change. At the same time, the importance of the problem of the conditions for conducting democratic elections is underlined. Of course, the insistence on the reinforced proportionate system with the agreement of PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement] and substantially the dogmatic KK [Communist Party], the denial of a vote to immigrants, to seamen and to young people 18 to 19 years of age, the refusal to provide financial help to the parties for the expenses of their electoral campaign, and other reasons, are restrictive to the democratic character of the elections and the equal treatment of the parties. But even beyond this, the use of television and other media by the government mechanism intensify to the extreme the unequal treatment of the parties by the government.

"Repeatedly and especially during the recent past, our party has emphasized the need for the ND to stop using the government as an instrument of its electoral campaign. For this reason, it is imperative to isolate fully the government mechanism from the electoral fight."

Terms of the Elections

At this point, Mr B. Drakopoulos referred to the terms of the elections, emphasizing the points that the representation of the KKE-interior made to Prime Minister Mr Rallis: a) The assignment of critical ministries to persons not only of common trust, but capable of handling a responsible job. b) Equal time on radio and television for all parties to give them a chance to present their views. c) The formation of an all-party committee to discuss these subjects, with the objective of coming up with specific proposals to the government. d) The assignment of political broadcasts of television to an all-party committee of reporters for meetings and debates between parties on television, etc.

"In every case," B. Drakopoulos emphasized, "the terms of the elections cannot comprise a problem that will be solved only by the government and PASOK, as was effected substantially with the electoral law. We are in a pre-electoral period. The people have not yet expressed their verdict. No one can predict their decision. Consequently, all the parties must participate in the discussion of

terms for uncontested elections. All parties have a right to equal treatment by the government mechanism in matters of gatherings, talks on television and radio, and the duration of the pre-electoral campaign."

Decisive Weapons for Struggle

In continuation, B. Drakopoulos said "The decisive weapons for the KKE-interior in the electoral campaign are its platform, that incarnates the other road to change and provides a specific answer to the problems of the country that will open the road to socialism with democracy, freedom and independence.

"The weapons of the KKE-interior are also: a) The faith of the members of the party and of 'Rigas' in the renewal of the communist movement, in the need for the strengthening of our party from all sides and in their decision to fight with all their power to the end for the success of the objectives of the party in this electoral fight. b) Next to them, the followers and friends of the party, all the forces of the communists and leftists who have not joined formally but who are interested in the matter of renewal and specifically in the electoral victory of the KKE-interior, comprise the political strength in the electoral fight of the party that involves all the forces of renewal. c) But a stronger and irreplaceable weapon in the fight is the organization of the party and 'Rigas' and the ties they made during these years with the people and the youth, while fighting for the problems of the country and the victory of the ideas of renewal of the communist party in our country. d) With these weapons in hand, all the forces of the party and the youth and all the mobilized forces that will be connected with them during the campaign must enter the electoral fight and secure the strongest lineup they possibly can and develop the greatest and most correct activity with the best results."

Socialism or Barbarism

In discussing the main points of the pre-electoral platform of the KKE-interior, as well as the character of change, B. Drakopoulos emphasized that: "The removal of the right from power has to be a necessary step, not for the simple party change in governing the country, but for the deeper change that leads through a long procedure of fights and conquests to the exit from the present system, to a socialism that is not a bureaucratic one, but with the freedom, democracy, self-government, and independence that we consider to be the answer to all of the big problems of our era.

"The old slogan of Lenin: 'Socialism or barbarism'", continued B. Drakopoulos, "is true even more today when our people and country are threatened by an unending economic crisis without any visible relief for the present time. By a thermo-nuclear destruction that would be the result of a possible war during which our country would have a priority position because of the American bases. And by a continuous decline in housing standards that would lead to a gradual deterioration of the environment and of living conditions to levels, that perhaps our minds would find difficulty in conceiving, and that also would lead to a slow death. With the difference that today we should repeat the slogan in a modified form: Socialism with democracy and freedom or barbarism."

The secretary of the central committee of the KKE-interior took a special position on the measures that the KKE-interior is proposing for coping with the economic crisis, for the restriction of the activity of the monopolies, government control on all prices, profits, and loans for investments, progressive taxation of capital, redistribution of the income to the benefit of the working class, fight against waste, attack on parasitism, fight against inflation, and other steps, emphasizing that coping with the crisis, because it is organizational and not temporary, cannot be done with formulas of the bourgeois political economy, of the so-called "neoliberalism."

Nationalization Is Necessary

"These measures," said B. Drakopoulos, "are necessary to have a social intervention in the area of the economy that would be able to steer the economy in directions that will service the interest of everyone."

"We disagree," continued the secretary of the central committee of the KKE-interior, "with those who, under the pressure of the attack by 'neoliberalism,' are opposed to nationalization and to the broadening of the public sector in our country. Under this pressure, PASOK does not talk about nationalization, but about socialization of a very unspecific character, even though nationalization is a must for socialization that will be a long-term procedure. We believe that clarity in policy never hurts. To the contrary, lack of clarity hurts. But we must remind that they have the opposite opinion, as proven in practice by the French Socialist Party that governs today and the British Labor Party. Furthermore, despite what is said, the public sector is much smaller in our country in relation to the respective sector of other European countries, e.g., France, Italy and England prior to the intervention of Thatcher, etc. And furthermore, the bad economic condition of many enterprises in this sector is not due to their public character, but to the character of the government of the right and the organization of the administration. In the present phase, we support selective and not massive nationalization. We consider it necessary for developing production and for going in the proper direction as well as for providing positive support to the private sector. While at the same time, we connect the broadening of the public sector with its democratization and decentralization. Besides, we must not forget that a significant portion of the enterprises in the private sector are not in a better condition than the enterprises in the public sector."

Broader Alignment for Change

Referring to the struggle for change, the speaker said that this struggle must continue, regardless of the results of the elections.

At this point, B. Drakopoulos dealt with the importance of the alignment of the broadest possible spectrum of the social and political forces for change.

"This alignment," he continued, "cannot be accompanied within the body by PASOK, as it admits itself, nor by any other party that would be summoned as having drawn the lot for assuming the historic responsibility for change. Since Greece is not a Third World, this is utopia for its situation and creates difficulties on the

road to change. This alignment can be effected only with the equal participation of all the forces of change and with the recognition of the role of all of these forces.

"On the other hand, to a greater degree, the dogmatic Communist Party cannot participate in this broad unity. Because it does not want it, and because, to the extent that it wants it, it does not want it to be equal, but slanted to its own specifications. The most important reason it cannot participate, however, and thereby becomes an obstacle, is its list of objectives for our country. These are socialism without democracy, a one party state, no labor union or other freedoms, no right to strike, no freedom of press, full government control of television, and no independence. In other words, a regime that will give socialism a bad name. With this line, the other forces of the left and the other democratic forces cannot accept a coordinated government platform with it. What must be done? Directly, on the side of PASOK, instead of refusing to cooperate with the socialists/communists and this way give in to the pressures brought upon it by the right, it should support the idea of cooperation and at the same time, however, concentrate its attention to the conditions under which this cooperation could be effected, terms that would bind the participating parties in the subjects of democracy, independence and international policy in an absolutely clear way. This concept was tried successfully in the French experience and this way, the cooperation between socialists and communists became proper."

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CSO: 4621/99

KKE CELEBRATES 7TH FESTIVAL ANNIVERSARY

KKE Secretary General's Speech

Athens RIZOSPASTIS in Greek 15 Sep 81 p 3

Text Dear friends and comrades, young men and women:

It is with special joy and emotion that we salute this unprecedented people's gathering!

This is not a gathering of passersby. It is the great response given by hundreds of thousands of common people to the call for an electoral struggle and a message of hope for the electoral victory of the popular forces, for KKE's participation in the second distribution of votes.

Such optimistic messages come from all parts of the country. These messages not only express the will to bypass the outlaw electoral law by giving KKE 17 percent of the votes thus assuring the electoral defeat of the Right, but also the determination to struggle and impose the change. Now the change is not the demand of the communists only. It is the passionate desire of all progressive forces, of the great majority of the working people. This is a vital necessity for Greece whose national salvation, development and future demand that it be freed from American domination, that the domination by the local and foreign plutocracy be finished, and that a new Greece come into being with the people as the real master and boss.

Magnet for Nuclear Annihilation

Dear friends:

A few minutes ago we heard the speech of Comrade Gus Hall, the outstanding leader of the United States' Communist Party and a paragon of the international communist movement.

His presence here underlines that America is not only the monopolies today represented by Reagan's hawks. It is also the workers' movement of the United States which, no matter how much they try to obscure it, has immortal revolutionary traditions. It is also the mass peace movement inside the U.S. and the other mass movements such as that of the Negroes, the old, the young and others.

It also underlines that the enemy of the Greek people is not the American people. The American people, too, are the victims of the warlike cold war policies of the official American leadership.

The decision of the American leadership to place the "Pershing" and "Cruise" missiles in Europe and the adoption of the "limited nuclear war" dogma was just the beginning. Now with the production of the inhumane neutron bomb, the American imperialists move on the road to nuclear catastrophe. But at the same time, the forces that can block this road and defend peace are being strengthened. It is in that direction that all of us must and should make every effort.

The situation in our region, in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean, is becoming increasingly critical. The American leadership shows no restraint. They want to dominate the world. They try to find excuses to throw the region into the whirlpool of a war with unforeseeable consequences. They proved it by the planned gangster-like shooting down of the Libyan planes over the Gulf of Sirte.

Greece with the Atlantic policy has become a magnet for nuclear annihilation. Greece inside NATO and with the presence of American nuclear weapons and bases on its soil has a noose around its neck and that noose is getting increasingly tighter. Today the first duty of the Greek people is to get free of the American-NATO domination, to defend their national independence, their peaceful future, the peaceful future of their children. It is a myth that American domination is invincible. Small nations in today's world and in our region dominated by American imperialism, by their will, their struggle and their determination conquered their national independence. The Greek people can do this today.

Our opponents deliberately muddy the waters when they claim that by throwing the American imperialists out we will undermine our country's defensive capabilities. We know that precisely on this point the Right holds captive the thinking of many common people and cultivates the fatalistic acceptance of domination. In fact, it is the American domination that undermines our national defense and threatens our territorial integrity. The foreign "protectors" never protected this country's independence, only the Greek people with their blood and sacrifice did so.

Greece has paid enough for the American domination. It is time to live as an independent country. We do not play with words. We do not cover up any issue. We realize that such an essential change in the country's orientation creates certain problems. It will be necessary to make new efforts and to struggle to overcome obstacles and difficulties. It is for this reason that we insist that it is necessary for the forces of change to cooperate. For this reason we ask that KKE receive a strong vote. The self-sufficiency of one party cannot replace the cooperation and common action of all the forces of change together with a strong communist party.

An independent, nonaligned Greece together with the forces of change, with a strong communist party among them, will find the means to solve any problems, to safeguard its security, to consolidate its defense, to secure its national independence and territorial integrity. An independent and peaceful Greece, free of military alliances, has nothing to fear in our modern world. Quite the opposite. Because only then will it be strong and respected by its neighbors. Only then will

Greece have all-powerful friends in the peace-loving countries and the peoples all over the world.

KKE believes that as long as foreign domination and American-NATO bases continue in Greece, it will be impossible to achieve any real change toward democracy and progress, and the peaceful tomorrow of our children will be jeopardized.

The only tactic a democratic government that wishes to move forward toward change can follow is to take immediate steps to defend our national independence. It is the only flexible tactic. There is no other ostensibly flexible tactic. A democratic government which will take immediate and real steps against the regimes of domination will be all-powerful because it will unite around itself all Greek patriots, all those who have national sensitivity and pride, that is, the overwhelming majority of the Greek people.

KKE has never diverted and will never disorient the Greek people away from their primary problem: their liberation from the yoke of American imperialism. KKE was the first party to raise the banner against American domination, against the bases and NATO. Today many say "No." But this "No" [to American domination] must tomorrow be translated into votes for KKE. It is the strongest vote which will contribute to the removal of the bases and of nuclear weapons from our country. It is the strongest vote for a Greece out of NATO, independent, proud, a factor for peace in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean.

Working men and women, young men and women:

This election can be a milestone and a starting point to change our life for the better.

KKE declares openly that the life of the Greek people cannot be improved as long as the monopolies dominate our country without restraint. The working people know that KKE never compromised with the plutocracy, that as in the past it will remain undaunted in the struggle against the economic oligarchy for the improvement of their life. They know that KKE not only has the will but also the stamina, the organization and the fighting spirit to fight for the interests of the working people against the monopolies. The stronger KKE becomes the more tomorrow's government will be sensitive to the voice of the working people, the more it will be able to move ahead with immediate, anti-monopolistic measures.

Today's situation--with profits of the monopolies going out of sight while the living standard of the working people goes downhill--cannot go on. The prices can no longer remain beyond control, set arbitrarily through joint agreements by the monopolies. It is no longer acceptable to have the wage earners pay taxes while the big capital remains mostly tax free.

Political Improvement of Life

Support KKE so that tomorrow a democratic government will be based on all popular forces to enable it to put prices under strict control; to cut the unwarranted privileges, the tax breaks and the tax evasion of the monopolistic oligarchy; to

apply a policy of limiting the profits of the plutocracy while increasing salaries, wages and pensions.

Today unemployment is on the rise. Tens of thousands of working people are out of work without any real support. Our youth live with anxiety and uncertainty for tomorrow. In this election give KKE the means to contribute to pushing forward tomorrow a democratic plan for public investments and in favoring a sound program of private investments which will revitalise the economy and give work to the unemployed, especially the young.

Today public health has become a business as the funds of social insurance reserves belonging to the working people are used for favoritist loans to big business. Today education, with all the barriers and discrimination, becomes increasingly inaccessible to the children of the working people. Now, Athens and Piraeus have been transformed by industry into uninhabitable areas. The pollution "cloud" has become permanent. Industries pollute the environment without restraint and dirty the seacoast. The miserable transportation means torture the working people.

Create a strong KKE that will fight tomorrow so that a democratic government will implement a consistent policy to better the quality of life for the working people; for a democratic system for health and education so that the worker will know that if he falls ill he will find a bed in a hospital and satisfactory care; so that the children of the working people will be able to get a modern and democratic education; so that our life will become more humane, our cities and our environment will be protected against the uncontrolled pollution by industry.

The Right has turned today's factories into ghettos. They deny in the factories the most elementary rights of the workers, suppressing their personalities and self-respect. Only one law prevails in the factories, in big business: the arbitrary will of the boss. This year tens of thousands of workers were fired arbitrarily, many among them because they were syndicalists.

The Right did everything in its power to abolish in reality even the most elementary means for the defense of the working people: the strike. The first and major task for a democratic government tomorrow is to give democracy "flesh and bones," a democracy turned by the Right into an empty sham without meaning for the working people!

The worker will not feel the change through merely a change in government. He will feel it if the oppression and arbitrariness at work ceases--if he feels that his rights in the factories are secure, that he can speak freely and fight for his rights without any consequences.

One of the key duties of a democratic government is to democratize the syndicalist movement held now by the Right in a fragmented state, its central organs being controlled by paper unions [without members]. Only then will [such a government] show that it has the will to place under control the greed of the plutocracy, to seek support in the syndicalist movement, in the struggle of the people themselves to overcome the difficulties of change.

KKE Is the Soul of Unity

Working men and women, young men and women:

Today's inflation caused primarily by the monopolies, the unemployment, the decline in production, the tremendous public debt, the devaluation of the drachma, the colossal deficits in the country's international transactions, will not be solved merely by a change in government without a radical change in policy.

To strike down the evil forces we must place under control the big monopolies, both domestic and foreign. The Right calls this "a catastrophe for the country." But catastrophes, adventures and over-exploitation have come to our country only from the domestic and foreign plutocracy. Greece has nothing to lose without Tom Pappas, Pechinee, Niarkhos, Skalistiris. Those are not the ones who hold the national economy together. They are the ones who are dependent on the toil of the working people. They are able to reign thanks to extensive privileges, anti-labor laws, favoritist loans and tax loopholes.

Greece will see a true development to the benefit of the people only if tomorrow a democratic government moves to implement steps of planned development based on public productive investments and the necessary nationalizations. A policy of real change for the better in the economy to benefit the people does not go with the country's induction into the EEC. The working people know now first hand what the EEC "paradise" really means: high prices, intensification of work, unemployment, closing down of many industrial and small business units, burying farm produce.

The Communist Party predicted all this even before our country associated with the EEC in 1961. Now that Greece has been pushed into the EEC, KKE is the only party by the nature of things that can defend with determination, free of restrictions, the interests of the working people and those of our country inside the Euro-parliament. For this reason, the workers, farmers, small businessmen, small to medium sized entrepreneurs, regardless of political convictions and regardless of their vote for the Greek parliament, can vote massively the KKE candidates for the Euro-parliament, assured that in this way they defend their interests and Greece's interests in the EEC. For every working person the question as he faces the election is how to vote more effectively against domination and the monopolies for a better life.

The party that can surely utilize the vote for such an objective is KKE. This is shown by its history. For more than 60 years it has served faithfully and self-sacrificially the interests of the working people. There has been no [social] conquest by the working people--from the 8-hour day to social insurance and paid leave--without the decisive contribution of KKE and the Left. In the same way tomorrow, too, the road to a new policy cannot open without a strong KKE.

KKE is the party that has been present in every mobilization, every strike, every protest to satisfy the just demands of the working people...the working people whom nothing was ever given to as gifts. In the same way tomorrow, too, the road to change cannot be opened without a strong KKE and even more so without its participation. The working people are in a position more than anybody else to

understand that the only way to bring about change for a better life is their struggle and their unity. It is a stronger KKE which was yesterday and will be again tomorrow the soul of the struggle and the people's unity against the monopolies.

Marching Together for the Change

Democratic men and women, young men and women:

The problem in this election is not just how to defeat the Right at the polls. It is necessary to elect a democratic government for change. We now have an American-dominated government that must be replaced by a democratic government to free our country from American-NATO tutelage, for national independence. We have a government of monopolies that must be replaced by a democratic government for the people which will enjoy the trust and the support of all the forces for change. This country's historic experience, but also the steps toward change taking place in other countries, testify that without the participation of the communists, without the unity of all the forces of change, there can be no way out of the crisis, there can be no change.

KKE declares that it will make its decisive contribution: today, to the effort of the democratic forces and parties for honest elections, for a smooth democratic development; tomorrow, to the change at every level, both in the mass popular movement, and at the level of the democratic government that will serve the cause of national independence, democratization, peace and social progress.

KKE deeply believes that today only such a close cooperation of the forces of change can fulfill the people's desire for change. The change does not come through the self-sufficiency of a single party but through the omnipotence of the united forces for change.

We know! Such a unity "bothers" the Right, the oligarchy, the imperialists—not only because the communists are going to play an essential role in the country's life, but also because they know that a government supported by all the forces of change and by KKE will be all-powerful. Then their extortions, pressures and threats will no longer have any effect. They will no longer be able to undermine democratic normalcy and steal from the people their victory. Then, there will certainly be a government of national independence and not one of American domination. A government for the good of the people and not for the oligarchy of wealth.

Let the domestic and foreign reactionary circles understand well that they deceive themselves if they think that they will paralyze the will of the people for change with the "scarecrow" of the popular front or their scare tactics about anti-communist and anti-Marxist danger-mongering. The people know how many crimes have been committed against democracy and the nation in the name of the so-called "communist danger."

Our people, their progressive forces, experienced and mature in favor of the change, will make clear in every direction that what will happen in this country, what government will emerge, what program will be implemented, will be determined

by the people by their vote and their struggle. They are not going to ask permission from anybody or to apologize to anybody.

Now the democrats, the patriots, beyond any ideological and party differences, all people free of prejudices, see KKE as a live, developing, responsible force of democracy and of the nation. Nobody can ignore or isolate KKE anymore, not only because it is the third largest party, but because it is also a decisive force for change, a fighting rampart of democracy and national independence, a real guarantee for smooth democratic developments in our country.

Now the progressive Greek men and women see that in order to smash the Right and its outlaw-like electoral law, in order to move the change forward through the cooperation of all forces that support it, KKE must receive at least 17 percent of the vote, thus being eligible for the second distribution of parliamentary seats.

Not One Vote Wasted

Voices from the crowd: Not again the mistake of 1963.

Florakis: Yes, there have been mistakes and some may find it convenient to recall those mistakes. There have been mistakes because there has been a heroic and glorious past. There exists the past of more than 60 years of difficult struggles defending the interests of the working class and of all the working people. There is the past of National Resistance. There is the past and the present of the struggles for national independence, democracy and social progress. With regard to the mistake of 1963 [note: when the Left gave some votes to the Center Union] I would like to give you a categorical assurance that this time we are not going to give away, let alone offer as a gift, even half a vote.

Dear friends:

Opening today in this 7th Festival of Communist Youth KKE the final phase of our electoral campaign, we wish to greet all our friends and comrades, the members and followers of our party, the young KKE men and women, the co-fighters of the National Resistance and all the fighters of the Left who, thanks to their self-sacrificing mobilization until today, their passion and their vigor, have made it possible to bring KKE's message for change and its electoral goals everywhere. Now as we enter the homestretch of the campaign which is so critical for our country's further course, we call on all of them to intensify even more their efforts to make KKE eligible for the second distribution of seats, to assure the electoral demise of the Right, to bring about the change.

Let nobody neglect his duty in this great battle! To give, hand to hand, to every working person the ballot of this party of toil, struggle, unity, genuine change, so that no vote will be wasted. So that we may gain even the vote of someone who may not agree with some of our views but who wants to free himself from the government of the Right.

Let us all join in the struggle for the Right's defeat, for national independence, for our people's well-being. To build together a new Greece, worthy of the

aspirations, struggles and hopes of the toiling people, worthy of the needs and the dreams of our flaming youth and of all patriots.

Gus Hall's Speech

Athens RIZOSPASTIS in Greek 15 Sep 81 p 4

Text Gus Hall, the secretary general of the Central Committee of the U.S. Communist Party, greeted the 7th KNE/ODIGITIS Festival, saying:

Comrades and friends, greetings.

It is a real honor, a great personal privilege and a tremendous joy to be here with you, the workers and the youth, the people of beautiful Greece on this festive occasion. The message I am bringing is: warm greetings and solidarity from the progressive and peace-loving Americans, the greetings and best wishes of our workers, our intelligentsia, the 50 million Americans who are being oppressed because of their race or nationality, the greetings of fighting syndicalists and the glorious greetings of millions of our young people who, in growing mass numbers, take part in the struggle against the imperialist, aggressive policies of the United States.

I feel particularly happy to bring to you the warm greetings of thousands of Greek-Americans who live in two worlds, who live and work in the U.S. but who have never abandoned their dream of coming back to their beautiful Greece to spend the autumn of their lives in the land of their origin.

I also bring to all of you and the great, heroic Communist Party of Greece the warm handshake of the Communist Party of the United States.

The Best and the Worst of Times

It has been said: We live in the best of times and the worst of times. In the worst of times because there is a serious danger of nuclear war, a holocaust threatening to turn green mother earth into a cold, ash-covered, dead planet without a rose petal, a blade of grass, a drop of water or the tender breath of a child.

We live also in the best of times because there is a promise for a better life, the promise of science and technology, the unlimited creativity of human labor which can produce enough for everybody, the promise for a beautiful world free of hunger and fear, without weapons and bombs, a happy world flooded with happiness and prosperity, abundance, justice, equality and friendship.

We live in the best of times because the people have it in their power to choose between war and peace, between poverty and abundance, between justice and oppression. Above all, we live in the best of times because the scales continue to tilt more and more against the world forces of evil, against war and imperialism.

We Are "Experts"

We American Communists do not claim that we are experts in many matters. But when it comes to American imperialism we have been forced to become experts. We know the beast from within, as we live and fight inside it.

You must believe me when I tell you that the American people want peace and friendship. But American imperialism is the most insatiable, the most blood-thirsty, outlaw-like, unscrupulous beast humanity ever faced. It is the worst of all evils. It is the main cause of the escalation of the nuclear arms race. It is the major supporter and supplier of every reactionary, fascist, militarist regime, party or junta in every corner of this planet. Imperialism knows nothing about friendship or peace.

"Greece Turns to the Left"

You, the people of Greece, who have known the oppression of the iron boot of the fascist conquerors, who are the heir to the heritage of resistance against the barbarian hordes; you who will celebrate shortly the 40 years of the National Liberation Front--EAM--you know very well the barbarian character of imperialism.

I salute your great revolutionary heroes. On 27 September we will honor the contribution of the heroes of Greek Resistance such as Nikos Belogiannis who was executed on orders from the CIA and the American ambassador in Greece. Just as the courageous people of Vietnam and the other millions of victims of oppression you have experience in fighting against the rapacious tentacles of imperialism. With great sacrifices you fought against the imperialism of Nazi Germany, the British empire and American imperialism. The messages of millions of victims throughout the world remind us and provide a terrible testimony for us who are still alive that imperialism may change tactics but never gives up its thirst for blood.

The penetration of American multinational companies into your industrial complex, the permanent presence of American banks which are glued like leeches on your national wealth, the parasitic agents of the CIA who are everywhere, the constant threat of American bases on your soil, the Sixth Fleet plowing the waters of the Mediterranean, and the flights of American bombers and spy aircraft over your land must constantly remind you that your struggle for national independence and against intervention in your internal affairs has a long way to go.

Indeed, the Wall Street hawks are beginning to sharpen their claws. The press of the American monopolies has begun to send signals and warnings about the developments in Greece. They say that politically Greece is "veering to the Left." Or that "American business is not pleased with what is happening in Greece." Or that "NATO is about to lose a member." When I read those reports I know that you must be doing something right.

There is a law of national sovereignty born of experience which says that the best way to defend a country's independence is for the country to be independent. And that the worst way to defend independence is a policy of creeping concessions to the forces of imperialism.

They Want to Rule the World

There should be no illusion about American imperialism, its armed forces, or the role of American banks and the multinationals they represent. They have one goal, one objective, one philosophy. They want to rule and exploit the world.

Their exclusive goal is to draw billions from the blood, sweat and tears of the working people throughout the world. They want to rob the resources in every part of the world for private profit. The imperialism of the U.S. sees the world as its own preserve and the peoples of the world as its subordinates. It wants to crush the heroic people of El Salvador and Nicaragua, and to destroy the heroic achievements of socialist Cuba. It sees the Mediterranean as its own military base. In the language of American imperialism, NATO is only an extension of the Pentagon military establishment, its advanced military outpost.

They consider Western Europe as a forward military base. The nuclear missiles are on European soil but the life and death decisions are in the hands of the Pentagon generals who work out of the new underground command post now being constructed in West Germany.

Reagan Wants the Third World War

In the context of the war games played by the American generals, you, the peoples of Europe, are considered sacrificial flesh to be fed to the radiation of the neutron bombs. When Reagan's government speaks of a "limited nuclear war" or about "local nuclear conflicts," it means that it intends to limit the death and destruction--the mass annihilation--to Europe! In their plans the Europeans are "expendable." Cynically invoking the inventor of the neutron bomb, a spokesman for the Reagan administration said: "Too bad the Europeans happen to live in the wrong place."

For those who will survive, the genetic death will continue to kill for many generations as happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. An American admiral in a rare moment of candor revealed that "the Americans fought World Wars I and II in Europe and they believe they can fight the next world war, too, on European soil."

As the American propaganda machine grinds out scare stories about "Soviet expansionism," the Pentagon and the CIA feverishly build new military bases in Israel, Egypt, Oman, Saudi Arabia and Diego Garcia, and rebuild them in Somalia, Guantanamo, Britain, Spain, Italy, Japan, West Germany and Greece and in 500 other points on earth, most of them armed with nuclear weapons.

The question is: Who is guilty of expansionism and aggression?

American imperialism works feverishly to build Trident submarines, B-1 bombers, Pershing II missiles, Cruise missiles and the MX. Yet the militarist schizophrenia is not satisfied with a first strike capability from land, sea or the air; they are now trying to impose their military presence in space as well. The new space shuttle is basically designed to put together military space units supplied from earth bases. No one should be deceived by the propaganda reports that the

barbarous, genocidal neutron bomb will be stored in the U.S. because the launchers for this monstrous bomb are already set up in Europe. The American army in Europe will be immediately supplied with this weapon of mass murder. No one should be deceived by the interminable Haig-Weinberger-Reagan talks about some discussions that might lead to negotiations with the Soviet Union. At this moment the Reagan administration has no intention whatsoever of participating in any serious negotiations to reduce armaments.

It is a hypocritical contradiction, high treason against international peace and detente to talk about negotiations for limiting strategic nuclear weapons while pursuing a policy of achieving nuclear military superiority over the Soviet Union.

The U.S. has embarked on this insane course of armaments for military nuclear superiority together with the development of a new, more modern technology for even more destructive weapons of mass murder. They believe that they will then be able to negotiate from the illusion of a new "position of strength." This is the road to total destruction.

Regardless of what name may be used to identify an American base wherever it may be, it is a call to destruction. A new military base wherever it may be is an advanced outpost supporting the aggressive policies of American imperialism everywhere. Such military bases cannot protect or serve the national interests of any country. Because of all the American military bases, the health and lives of the European peoples are held hostage to the world military and economic power politics of American imperialism.

There Are No Victors in a Nuclear War

The big new lie of imperialism is trying to make you think the unthinkable--yet there are certain unquestionable truths about every kind of nuclear war.

- a. There are no safe shelters in which to hide from a nuclear war, anywhere.
- b. If you are not killed by the explosion you will be killed by radiation.
- c. There are no limited or local nuclear wars.
- d. There are no victors in a nuclear war, only losers.

It is also a big mistake for the American people to think that the U.S. will be spared in a nuclear war. In reality millions upon millions of Americans begin to understand and worry because they realize that the U.S. is not a paradise safe from the death and destruction of a nuclear war regardless of where it might start. The recognition of this harsh reality is the spark for new mass waves of resistance against the Reagan policy of nuclear confrontation and the arms race.

The fact which makes the war hysteria even more criminal is the effort of imperialism to mobilize the people in support of this insane policy through the use of the big lie. This big lie is based on the myth of the "Soviet threat." What

they call "Soviet threat," and "international terrorism" was and is a gigantic fraud, a mass brainwashing campaign by professional liars. I do not speak of the big lie in an effort to support the Soviet Union. The USSR needs no defense. I do it for two reasons: The big lie is used, first, to cover up the criminal war campaign and muzzle any opposition and, second, to spread lies and distortions about the socialist countries.

For more than 60 years now, from the birth of the Soviet Union and socialism, the main goal of American foreign policy has been to turn back, encircle, undermine, isolate and destroy the socialist world and, above all, the Soviet Union.

Using the same big lie, Hitler led the German people to a war that cost humanity tens of millions of lives, tremendous hardships, devastation and destruction. The same big lie of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism threatens now to blow up the entire world.

More Than 100 Soviet Proposals for Peace

Ever since the beginning of the new cold war, the Soviet Union has made over 100 specific proposals for disarmament and peace. For instance, it has proposed:

- a. A treaty binding all countries against using military force;
- b. Proposals for the total destruction of all military weapons in existence;
- c. A proposal to ban the industrial production of all nuclear and chemical weapons.
- d. A treaty to dissolve both NATO and the Warsaw Pact;
- e. A public agreement and pledge by all nations not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and many others.

Of course, the world still waits for some response from the United States on these serious proposals for peace and disarmament. Wars and the policies of war are not the making of diabolical men and women. The oil company Exxon participates in the oil business because the world needs fuel and gas. It participates in the oil business because it means tremendous profits. Exxon policy for profits leads to the oil in foreign soil, which in turn leads to a policy of aggression and war.

I love socialism. But some of you may not. You may also believe that it does not work well. Of course, there are certain problems. But regardless of whether one believes in socialism or not, the fact remains that socialism is not and never was a threat to the world, Europe, or the U.S. This so-called "Soviet threat" is a manufactured threat.

Socialism by its nature has eliminated the economic, political and social force which inevitably leads to aggression, namely, the private ownership of the means of production. In the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries there are no monopolies. For this reason the motive for monopolistic profits domestically and

abroad does not exist. In the imperialist countries the aggressive policy and the military armaments supporting it is an extension of the motives for monopoly profits.

For this reason when one examines the question of war and peace it is necessary to take into account the entirely different objectives of the two socio-economic systems.

Conquests Are Destroyed

The orientation toward war is an expensive proposition. Reagan's policy of aggression, conflict and armaments already costs the American people a great deal. The expenditures reach the unbelievable sum of 1 billion dollars a day! At this level the economy cannot sustain both guns and butter.

Side by side with the arms race, we have Reagan's pro-monopoly policy to lower the average standard of living and the quality of life for the great majority of Americans. The Reagan administration is destroying conquests won in 50 years of struggle in the sector of social security. The Reagan administration is using the entire power of the state (and its armed forces) to break up strikes to chain the trade unions. Like your seamen, the American air controllers are fighting for their legitimate right to strike. The Reagan administration is abolishing all government regulations against racism. The number of unemployed stays above 10 million; 50 percent of minority youth in the U.S. are not only unemployed but unemployable. Double digit inflation is rising. Soon we will reach your atrocious levels.

In the sector of domestic policy we see the largest transfer of wealth from the poor and the working people to the wealthy and the monopolies in the history of the United States. Thus, the worst of times for the U.S. is the reactionary attack by Reagan. The best of times is the unprecedeted growth of a militarist mass mobilization, a mass popular defensive army led by the labor unions. Exactly a week from this coming Saturday our capital, Washington, will be the reluctant host of possibly the largest mass mobilization of protest in the entire history of the United States.

The people of the United States are inspired today by a militant disposition. New fronts and popular coalitions mushroom everywhere. Reagan's policy provokes new crises--political and economic. As soon as one is settled, one, two others emerge in its place.

The Permanent Crisis of Capitalism

Capitalism is undergoing a crisis everywhere. It will not overcome this crisis ever, anywhere. From now on it will be in a state of chronic crisis which will deepen and become more permanent with every passing day.

For more than 200 years U.S. capitalism has had the most favorable objective conditions. But it is a fact that American capitalism is not exhausting its reserves. Our industrial cities are in an advanced state of decay. Literally thousands of giant factories and entire industries are dying taking down with them entire communities and destroying the lives of thousands of American families.

The real incomes decline by 5 percent a year on the average. All in all, the quality of life in the U.S. is rapidly declining. Capitalism is a thing of the past. Socialism is the future of humanity. The dangers and the problems in the world are serious. Nevertheless, we also live in the best of times.

The forces which lead the world revolutionary process are getting stronger. The winds of social change are getting stronger and blowing faster. U.S. imperialism is war-like. It speaks with harsh language. But at the same time it is being increasingly isolated around the world. It is forced to maneuver and retreat. Political leaders of countries tied to American imperialism will founder in the swamp of their decay and corruption.

Our times are good times because history teaches that the forces of peace and progress can and will win.

Long live the friendship between the Greek and the American people.

Down with imperialism!

Out with imperialism!

7520
CSO: 4621/2

PSOE ORGAN, MEMBER OPPOSE NATO ENTRY

Socialist Organ Opposed

Madrid EL SOCIALISTA in Spanish 26 Aug-1 Sep 81 pp 14, 15

[Article by Felix Santos: "Neither Proper Nor Well-Timed"]

[Text] The government has gunned the accelerator to plunge us headlong into NATO. Its desire is that Spain be a member of the Atlantic organization before the year's end. But it will not be an easy goal for Mr Calvo Sotelo to attain. Now, the opposition of the leftist parties (next week, PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] will begin a public awareness campaign) has been compounded by a new factor: the doubts and misgivings that have arisen in UCD's [Democratic Center Union] executive committee which, if they develop, would reinforce the growing popular opposition to the serious step that Calvo Sotelo wants to take as soon as possible.

At the meeting of the government party's executive committee, held last Wednesday, 19 August, there appeared a front, composed of Adolfo Suarez, Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Luis Gonzalez Seara, Abril Martorell and Rafael Arias Salgado, which voiced hesitancy regarding Calvo Sotelo's decision, claiming it to be ill-timed, and basing its view on some of the arguments put forth by PSOE to oppose Spain's entry into NATO.

Insofar as we know, this attitude of reservation and vacillation within UCD's chief leadership organ is new. At its two congresses, the government party revealed itself to be Atlantist, without any division. At the one in Palma de Mallorca, the government was even given the go-ahead to select the timetable and the appropriate parliamentary procedure. And Calvo Sotelo, in his investiture speech, made a lengthy, clearcut reference to his intention of hastening the entry. At the aforementioned meeting of the executive committee, the UCD "Suarists" and Social Democrats never expressed opposition to the Atlantist option, but objected to Calvo Sotelo's decision, regarding it as "ill-timed." Only Gonzalez Seara voiced opposition to taking the step of joining, for reasons that were also fundamental.

At the lively meeting of the Centrist executive committee, although no one brought matters to the extreme of a formal break in the unanimity with which the Centrist decision has been officially presented, there was a heated debate on the topic, and the aforementioned sign of opposition, argued on the basis of the untimeliness of the measure. This incident has alarmed certain conservative sectors. For example,

the newspaper ABC, in an editorial in which it attacks that Centrist sector which is now expressing misgivings, explains that the reasons based on timeliness given by former President Suarez are somewhat reassuring to it, "since we all know that when, for some reason, we do not wish to criticize something overtly, we criticize its timing, so that the shots end up hitting the thing itself."

This may perhaps be an over-interpretation because, furthermore, nothing has been learned to warrant the opinion that those disputes among the members of the UCD executive committee mark the beginning of a trend of opinion ready to do battle in order to prevent the fait accompli policy which Calvo Sotelo wishes to implement in this regard. What is, indeed, true is that this major vacillation within the leadership organ of the party in the government demonstrates the need, on an issue of such great seriousness and significance for the security of all Spaniards and for the future of Spain, to proceed toward a national debate, held with loftiness and integrity, that would make it possible to settle the controversial issue with a referendum wherein the people would decide upon the issue directly.

A Civilized National Debate

That national debate must take place with integrity and loftiness, and without low blows or stabs in the back. It befits us to stress this. An appeal for fair play is essential because, in the disgraceful example set by a sector of UCD, with the story of the secret PSOE-CPSU pacts, finally discredited by Calvo Sotelo, imitators who are no less despicable and treacherous are not lacking. There are those who go about writing in the newspapers that the opposition to entry into NATO "is not inspired by a single serious idea other than that of aiding Russia" (Augusto Assia, in YA of 23 August). They have even gone so far as to write that those opposed to such an entry are not patriots (Manuel Monzon, in ABC of 22 August).

The country seems to be about to become divided into "NATO-ists" and "anti-NATO-ists" or, if you prefer, into "NATO-ophiles" and "neutralophiles", just as it was at the time, bridging the enormous gap between the two hypotheses, when the nation was divided between "ally-ophiles" and "Germanophiles" (the political-ideological substrata then backing the "ally-ophiles" would now be closer to the "neutralophiles" than vice versa). The bad aspect is not so much this bipolarization, provided it occurs through honest debate, as it is the hostility spread by those who discredit in advance and harass, a priori, anyone who does not think as they do, contributing ideas and arguments to a debate that is so important to everyone. It is, once again, the philosophy of those who prefer to conquer, without regard for the methods, rather than to convince.

And that great national, public, civilized debate is necessary; because, regardless of what decision is finally made, the issue will hover over our heads and will cause much warfare in the future.

But, in addition to the fundamental error, there are reasons involving timing and procedural methods that must be considered. Calvo Sotelo has sought to back and protect his option by consulting the Armed Forces and the Council of State. He consulted the Superior Councils of the three branches of the Armed Forces on 21 August. Those advisory and consultative organs of the defense minister have given their support to the government's proposal. And, within a few days, the Council of State will issue its decision, which will relate only to the manner of the parliamentary procedure.

A Factor for Polarization and Confrontation

The occasion could not be less timely, whether viewed from a national or an international standpoint. From the angle of the national situation, entry into NATO introduces a factor for confrontation among the various political forces, and for ideological polarization in a situation wherein the most sensible thing (has it been forgotten that the outcome of 23-F is contingent on the judgment of those responsible in courts martial and on the sentence imposed?) is to seek the convergence of the parliamentary forces with respect to the major state problems, leaving for another occasion the issues which divide and create confrontation. This is because the dynamic aspect of those confrontations could guide, or debilitate or muddle the implementation of the agreements reached on the other issues, and foster the plans of the destabilizers.

Moreover, it so happens that to be a member of NATO now entails many more risks than during other less heated periods of history. Events of the past few days, Reagan's decision to assemble the neutron bombs and the incident off the Libyan coast, have made this obvious. And let it not be claimed that there are different methods of joining NATO and that, in any event, the entry would be contingent on the exclusion of the installation of nuclear devices on our soil; because the fact is that an organization such as NATO has a dynamic nature based on the international situation at each moment and, once in it, it is an illusion to think that one could say, "For this type of weapon, count me out."

The step that Mr Calvo Sotelo wishes to take contradicts a tradition of neutrality which has proven very good for us historically, one with which we have accrued excellent results, from both an economic and a humanitarian standpoint.

The daily paper *EL PAÍS* (the only newspaper with national circulation that has not become aligned in favor of the government's decision) has recalled this in a recent excellent editorial.

Despite the haste of the president of the government to put us into NATO, the controversy, by no means considered settled, awaiting a mere parliamentary vote, is at its beginnings. Next week, the Socialist Party will start a campaign, during the course of which signatures will be collected requesting a referendum on the issue. That campaign will be associated with the people's increasing awareness of certain aggressive preparations, and of the dangerous dynamics of the military blocs.

Comprehensive Reasons Against Listed

Madrid *EL SOCIALISTA* in Spanish 2-8 Sep 81 pp 20, 21

[Article: "Reasons for a Refusal"]

[Text] When the government is ready to implement our country's entry into NATO in an expeditious manner, the right to be informed, the right to be consulted, and to participate in the serious step, is a requirement in a democratic society. Of the many questions that could be asked about the implications, significance and repercussions entailed by adherence to the Atlantic Alliance, we have selected a series of questions which the average citizen is undoubtedly asking, and to which a complete

answer is given. They are meaningful answers, and weighty reasons on which our "no" to NATO is based. Nothing has been lost to us in NATO; and we could lose a great deal by entering it.

What does NATO cost?

NATO costs what its members decide.

Each country pays for its own military mechanism and, in addition, cooperates in the proportionate maintenance of the common costs of infrastructure: main headquarters in Brussels, general headquarters, common bureaucracy, common infrastructure projects, etc.

In 1980, the costs of NATO totaled \$247 billion, which represented 3.95 percent of the combined GDP of all the member nations. In 1980, Spain allocated 3.46 percent of its GDP for military spending.

What would entry into NATO cost Spain?

Again, there is ambiguity on the part of the government. NATO does not have forces other than those of its members. They are national forces integrated into the organization and subject to the administration of its commands. In one instance alone (for example, in a study made by a commander and submitted at a colloquium in S'Agaro last year), the cost of the dues for belonging to the organs has been estimated at about 3 billion pesetas. But this is on the assumption that the Spanish units are not placed on the level of NATO. An analysis of the expenses of the NATO member nations made by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, compared with the Spanish expense, shows that, in order to be placed on the same level, the increase in defense spending would stand between 30 and 40 percent of the present expense.

Obviously, no.

Would NATO cover our entire territory?

Article 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty excludes northern Africa, its adjacent waters and its overlying space. Ceuta and Melilla are not covered either by the Treaty or by the Organization. We could not invoke any article nor any precedent. The Canaries might be included in the NATO area, but this (and all the political forces in the Canaries as well as the general public in the archipelago are of this opinion) would increase the political risk for the Canaries. There would be a response on the part of the so-called African progressives, who would attempt to bring up again in the Organization of African Unity (OAU) the spurious issue of the African nature of the Canaries. Spurious, but it would create problems and force Spanish diplomacy into unnecessary wear and tear.

Would Spain's entry into NATO cause it to run greater risks than those currently assumed for our civilian population?

Obviously, the risks for the civilian population would increase considerably.

The facilities that would have to be made available to foreign forces in our territory increase the risk of an accident.

In the event of an installation of nuclear weapons, the risk is evident, both in peacetime and wartime. In the latter instance, in modern warfare there is no difference, insofar as risk is concerned, between the Armed Forces and the civilian population. More of the German civilian population perished in the bombing of Dresden by the allies than in almost the entire Russian campaign; not to mention Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The civilian population is the indirect target of the destruction of military installations. Insofar as the entry into NATO increases the risk of Spain's nuclearization, whereupon we would move from a status of logistical reserve to the front line of the conflict, being exposed directly to its consequences, the status of the civilian population would be inevitably exacerbated. In the event that we enter NATO, the people should demand a genuine civil defense system: shelters, storage for provisions, underground hospitals, etc.

If it is to be minimally effective, that is, to save half the population, civil defense has been estimated as having a cost impossible for the superpowers themselves to meet, for their own populations.

Could entry into NATO force Spain to become involved in regional conflicts of a limited nature?

The situation is odd, paradoxical and extremely unfair. We have already observed that, if Spain had a conflict of its own in northern Africa, it would not be covered, defended, aided or protected by NATO. On the other hand, the commitments to the Organization and the mere signing of the North Atlantic Treaty would involve Spain in a local conflict, which would be limited in the degree to which the Organization considered it a threat to the system. In some of these conflicts, the position of Spain and those of the leading powers of NATO could differ considerably.

What commitments does Spain assume if it enters NATO?

On this point, the government and its party are dealing with ambiguity. They claim that an "a la carte entry" is fitting; in other words, that our obligations could be gaged or limited. At first, they maintain, they would be only those stipulated in the Treaty (something similar to a solidarity of defense, stipulated in Articles 4 and 5). But this is a half-truth. If Spain's entry into NATO is sought by the United States, it is because the latter wants a member that will immediately, or within a short period of time, assume all the commitments which the members have been assuming from 1949 to date. Furthermore, it wants one that will reinforce the area of the members less reluctant to pursue the policy of a hard line, rearmament, a 3 percent rise in real terms of the defense expenses and (when it becomes necessary for the NATO military leadership in Europe) the potential deployment of certain nuclear weapons. A Spain as a NATO member which would claim special treatment, with less participation than others, would evoke a similar position among countries which are critical of the current tendency toward a hard line and nuclear rearmament without limits. This applies to the Netherlands and, in part, to Belgium, Denmark, Norway, etc. Immediately, or within a very short time, the Spanish commitment would be total. Thus, it would be at the cost of decisions, in the making of which it

would have little participation. If France claimed this situation in 1966 (that it did not even control the use of the NATO bases in its territory, if the real defense plans had not been approved by France), what would be the status of a country with less clout than France, namely, Spain?

Under the present circumstances wherein the Reagan administration is seeking to extend the action from NATO to other theaters, the implications for our foreign policy in the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf and the Near East would be inevitable.

Does Spain's entry into NATO increase the risk of the nuclearization of Spain?

Spain has been denuclearized since 1979, since the submarines carrying Poseidon missiles left the base at Rota, in compliance with the terms of the Spanish-American Treaty of January 1976. In a bilateral agreement it is difficult to reintroduce retroactive clauses that would again allow for nuclearization, even if only because that treaty must be ratified by the General Cortes. It is quite a different matter if we enter NATO, because we would be subject to the decisions of the Organization's entities, and to the directives from its commanders. NATO, unlike a bilateral treaty, creates its own regulations and obligations. It is something dynamic, with a life of its own. Hence, the position of a medium-sized state, refusing a decision of this type, is actually very weak. Moreover, if, as is likely, there is a continuation of the trend toward the nuclearization of NATO in Europe, it would be almost impossible for Spain, if it should enter, to be an exception over the medium term. This is obvious, and there are already some serious problems among certain member nations as a result of the decision on nuclear rearmentation.

Could Spain's entry into NATO drag our country into a world conflict?

Obviously, if Spain were not potentially involved in a world conflict, its entry would serve no purpose, it would not make sense. This is clear when one reads Article 5 of the Treaty creating the Alliance.

The realization by everyone that Spain is a member of a multilateral alliance devised for the contingency of a world conflict could, in the minds of the NATO strategists, serve to warn and dissuade the adversary.

This obligation is far more serious today, because the superpowers are attempting to globalize any concrete situation; in other words, any tension at a given point, for example, in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Near East, etc., is considered to be connected with the entire system. Hence the tendency to involve the Alliance in any point that the United States decides is essential.

Does entry into NATO break Spain's tradition of neutrality?

Spain has a long tradition of neutrality, which has brought good results for the nation's interests.

But it is not a neutralist state, because neutralism is interpreted as a political movement of the countries which find in nonalignment the position that befits their cultural, political or other status. They are usually former colonial countries, or developing nations.

Nor is Spain neutralized by an agreement among the great powers, as in the case of Austria; nor is it by unilateral decision, as was decided in its time by Switzerland. In other words, Spain has historically retained its capacity to decide, at a given moment, with a conflict in view, whether it would participate or declare itself neutral.

Upon the agreements with the United States, the situation has changed somewhat; but entry into NATO is a giant step on a path toward automatic dependence on external situation that cannot be controlled by a medium-sized country such as ours. It is not that neutrality is being abandoned; it is a matter of becoming integrated into the structure and dynamics of the military blocs.

What effects would a decision of this type have on Spain's foreign policy?

The policy of a country such as Spain must be inspired by the pursuit of certain essential goals. These might be: a. to work on behalf of peace and the easing of tensions; b. not to break general balances on which the present world situation is based; c. to achieve, within this state of balance, a margin of autonomy that would preclude the satellization of the country.

a. To work on behalf of peace and the easing of tensions. International tension makes the construction of democracy far more difficult, makes internal political differences more acute and militarizes political thinking, so that every political issue is viewed from a strategic, military standpoint. From that standpoint, the concrete interests of a nation yield to the geostrategic, global view of the superpowers. In order to preserve their economic, political, cultural and other interests, the medium-sized powers must strive to foster the easing of tensions. Entry into NATO is a factor opposed to the easing of tensions.

b. Not to break general balances. Because in the strife-ridden world in which we are living, survival depends on this balance. Just as a neutralist stance could upset the "status quo" against the West, entry into NATO works in the opposite direction. In other words, it would increase the tension and the aforementioned effects would occur.

c. It must also avoid satellization. A satellite is one which reacts to any situation, not in keeping with its interest, but rather in keeping with the general position of a more powerful country on which it is dependent. How can satellization be avoided? By succeeding, in certain directions and within a wide margin, in obtaining the greatest potential for maneuvering to uphold its own interests. Entry into NATO, especially in a state of tension, almost one of cold war, such as the one at present, reduces the autonomy of Spanish policy to a maximum extent in the Mediterranean, the Near East and Latin America. It would end up making the policy of the leading superpower in NATO.

There is no connection between belonging to NATO and to the Common Market, and hence it is wrong to make any parallel between the two. Ireland is a member of the Common Market and not of NATO; Norway is a member of NATO and not of the EEC.

Executive Committee Members Against

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 20 Sep 81 p 10

[Article by Jose Federico de Carvajal, member of the PSOE's Federal Executive Committee: "The Arms Race, NATO and Spain"]

[Text] In May 1978, the NATO Council made the decision to increase its military budgets and to undertake a long-term program to expand the storing of weapons among the countries which signed the Treaty.

Subsequently, in December 1979, the United States, with the consent of West Germany, implemented a plan to install new medium-range nuclear missiles, called "theater missiles," in Europe. The total number of these missiles agreed upon was 574, and they are the so-called Pershing 2 and Cruise types.

The justification for the installation of the aforementioned missiles was that the Soviet Union had deployed against the nations of the North Atlantic Treaty new missiles known as SS-20, installed on mobile bases, with three nuclear warheads, and with their deployment the balance that existed between NATO and the Warsaw Pact had been broken.

The Soviet Union argues that this is not true, that these new missiles have not increased the number of those in existence against the NATO nations; but that, on the contrary, they have even been reduced, because the SS-20 are replacing the SS-4 and SS-5, and, in some cases, more than one of these missiles; and that the only thing that has been done is to modernize the existing weaponry, which had become obsolete.

The Atlantic Treaty, for its part, stresses that, because they are mounted on mobile bases and have three nuclear warheads, it has become more difficult to locate them and that their number has been increased, thereby breaking the balance in any event.

In response to this, in a recent article published on 25 July of this year, Marshal Ustinov, the Soviet Union's defense minister, stated that there is approximate parity in medium-range nuclear weapons, with the number of carriers totaling 1,000 for each side. According to Ustinov, NATO has American F-3 and F-4 planes carrying nuclear weapons, installed in bases located in West European countries; medium-range FB-3 bombers; A-6 and A-7 airplanes carrying nuclear weapons aboard American aircraft carriers, all of these exceeding 700 units; as well as medium-range land-based missiles, submarines carrying missiles and bomber aircraft in the countries allied with the pact, with over 300 units in all, with a radius of action ranging between 1,000 and 4,500 kilometers.

Ustinov also adds that these weapons have been modernized, and are continuing to be modernized, and that, in the United Kingdom, the submarines are being equipped with improved Polaris A37K missiles and the installation of Trident missiles is being considered. France has monoblock head missiles installed on land and at sea, which will be replaced by missiles with seven warheads. Therefore, Ustinov states in the aforementioned article, with the installation of the new Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in numbers approaching 600 on European soil, the Atlantic Pact will have 50 percent more medium-range nuclear weapons than the Warsaw Pact.

The fact is that it is extremely difficult for the one writing this to ascertain whether the installation of the SS-20 by the Soviet Union has broken the balance or not. I think that this is a matter which only the Russians and the Americans know for certain. But the actual fact is that an arms race has started, and the United States has decided to continue this race. Defense Secretary Weinberger has declared that the United States must reestablish the mobility of its armed forces, and react rapidly to the change in the situation, regardless of the part of the world in which it occurs; adding on another occasion that the United States would spend whatever was necessary to increase its war potential and to accrue advantages over the Soviet Union.

A result of all this is that the United States Defense Department will increase its budget by over \$40 billion next year, reaching a total of \$226 billion. The defense spending over the next 5 years will amount to approximately \$1.5 trillion.

Added to this is the fact that President Reagan has recently expressed the United States' intention of manufacturing the neutron bomb, a statement which evoked a resultant consternation throughout the world. If we add to this the United States Senate's failure to ratify the SALT II Treaty, the picture is complete.

Understandably, the Soviet Union is not going to lag behind in this race, and will increase the number of its missiles and, in turn, will start manufacturing neutron bombs.

It is true that, according to Brezhnev, the Soviet Union has proposed an increase in the measures of confidence, extending the area for implementation of these measures to the European part of the Soviet Union, on the condition that the same action be taken by Western Europe.

The Soviet Union was thereby referring to the islands, seas, oceans and airspace adjoining the continent. NATO has responded by claiming that this is not viable, because in the pertinent accords mention is made only of the European continent, and these areas are not a continent.

There is also a problem relating to the moratorium proposed by the Soviet Union to stop the deployment of new nuclear missiles in the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, and to begin talks. The Western side argues that the SS-20 already installed by the Soviet Union must be withdrawn.

I think that this topic should be subjected to discussion, and that the talks on nuclear disarmament should be started.

In short, worldwide tension is increasing at present. The countries have launched forth into the arms race impelled by the aggressive policy of President Reagan; and as part of these dynamics, we think that the danger of a nuclear war has increased. As we have observed, NATO has a major role in the matter, whether because it believes that its security requires the installation of the Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles, or because it is allowing itself to be dragged along by the United States armament dynamics.

And this is the time that the Spanish Government has chosen to request entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. By virtue of the bilateral treaty in effect

with the United States, the nuclear weaponry was removed from Spain; and therefore, according to the reiterated statements of the Soviet Union, we have ceased to be a target for the Soviet nuclear missiles, because the latter are only aimed at the countries in whose territory nuclear devices have been located.

Accepting Nuclear Weapons

Regardless of what may be claimed, I believe that our entry into NATO will require the nuclearization of our country; although protests are being made to the effect that it is feasible to enter the Treaty on the condition that our country continue to be denuclearized. We think that if we are entering the Treaty for greater security guarantees, these guarantees would require the installation of nuclear devices; and, furthermore, what would our contribution to NATO be if, after our entry into it, we were to remain in the same situation as we have thus far?

At the dinner held by Mr Oliart on 2 September with newsmen, he stated that, although on principle there would be no deployment of nuclear weapons in Spain, this would not preclude the possibility of our placing nuclear missiles in our territory if our defense so required.

The reading of this seems clear to me. It means the intention of accepting nuclear weapons on our native soil. And the acceptance of nuclear weapons on our native soil means that, in the event of a conflict, we would be one of the first targets of the missiles of the opposing power.

Therefore, and in addition to a great many more reasons which occur to me and which back the judgment that Spain should not enter NATO, and so as not to depart from the context of the article, I shall only say that it seems to me to be absurd, during a full escalation in world tension and in the arms race, when the danger of a nuclear conflagration is most acute, for this to be the time when Spain requests its entry into NATO; and that if previously, we had a possibility, however remote, of freeing ourselves of the consequences of a war, this possibility would disappear completely upon our adherence to the North Atlantic Treaty.

Any Spanish contribution to the alliance's military system, stationing of foreign troops in our country, or the location of war material, even if it be conventional, or the granting of facilities involving the nation's land, sea and air space, represents military targets that must be destroyed, and hence an increase in the risks that we must run in the event of war. If we add to this the specific obligation imposed by Article 5 of the Treaty, of aiding a member that is the object of an armed attack, I believe that the pincers are closed and we are inexorably caught in the consequences of a potential nuclear disaster.

It seems clear to me that Spain would contribute very little or nothing to NATO by entering it; and that our security and our defense would benefit very little or not at all from our entry into NATO. If we have any potential enemy, against which we must prepare ourselves, it is not in the northern part of Europe; and against this very enemy we would never be helped by NATO. Part of our territory, the military strongholds of Ceuta and Melilla, lies outside of the territory protected by NATO. Then why must we enter NATO? Why must we become involved in the arms race and the risk of a nuclear conflagration? Why, at least, are the Spanish people not being consulted, so that they may decide on an issue as important as their security?

Military Poll Analyzed

Madrid EL SOCIALISTA in Spanish 2-8 Sep 81 pp 18, 19

[Article by E.G. and E.R.: "How the Opinions of the Military Are Divided"]

[Text] The magazine DEFENSA, specializing in military affairs, held a poll among its readers in May 1980, regarding the question of Spain's entry into NATO. Based on the data from this poll, EL SOCIALISTA has tabulated the answers obtained from among the military readers, which show some revealing aspects of the issue.

In the data from the aforementioned poll, which analyzes a sampling of 4,123 members of the military, it is interesting to dwell on the aspects that are the greatest cause of controversy between the political segment and the more informed population.

In the first place, we must stress the clearcut division in the opinions of the military regarding the definitive question: Should Spain enter NATO? (Table I). Of the totals in the poll, 61 percent favor entry and 33.45 percent are opposed. But there is the circumstance that the proportion of officers and petty officers answering the poll (the very ones who are largely opposed to entry) is far smaller than what actually exists within the Armed Forces. For example, in the poll, the group of chiefs accounts for 40 percent of the total, whereas that of officers is 53 percent and that of petty officers is only 7 percent. As everyone knows, this proportion is actually the opposite: the number of officers is considerably higher than that of chiefs (compared with 20.5 percent chiefs, there are 32 percent officers and 47.7 percent petty officers). For this reason, if the projection is made of the opinions based on groups with respect to their real percentages in the present rosters, it turns out that only 51.9 percent are in favor, while 45 percent are opposed, and 3.06 percent express no view. In other words, the NATO issue has divided the opinions in the Armed Forces virtually in half.

As was noted at the time, this division has become acute in generational terms, with the majority of those who think that Spain should not enter NATO included among those under 40 years of age.

Consequences and Risks

Some of UCD's NATO-ist members claim that the consequences and risks which Spain would assume upon joining NATO hardly increase with respect to the current situation. The views of the members of the military polled are clearly different. Table II shows their responses in the event of a conflict between the two blocs which, of course, need not be an overt, total conflict, but could be a partial confrontation or a mere escalation of the tension. The risks that Spain would assume by entering the Atlantic Alliance are clear to the military. When one considers that 60 percent of those polled are advocates of the entry, it is not odd that, when responding about the risks, there is a tendency to downplay them. Therefore, rather than the total percentage figures, what is important to emphasize is the difference that is noted when they answer, "outside of NATO and inside of NATO", the question as to whether Spain would be involved in an East-West conflict, as well as the differences between the hypothesis of a conventional war and a war with nuclear elements.

There is no room for doubt: 87.92 percent of those polled think that Spain would be heavily involved in a conflict of a nuclear nature between blocs, in the event that it belonged to NATO. This figure declines to 51.69 percent if Spain remains outside of the Alliance. The difference is obviously substantial, even despite the logical tendency that exists among those favoring the entry to make this variation minimal.

In other words, it is impossible to conceal the fact that the risk factor changes completely as Spain enters NATO.

NATO Costs More

One of the most obscure points in the debate is that of the increase in costs entailed by entry into NATO, something which, for a country beset by the economic crisis as Spain is, is not an asset. Understandably, the government claims that the costs will not increase, and has even claimed recently that the defense budget could be reduced. The idea seems to have come from a book ("NATO and Spain, the Price of an Alliance", Angel Lobo, Sabado Printers, S.A., Madrid, 1981), in which the author goes so far as to claim that the entry would only cost the first annual dues, which would presumably be only about 1 billion additional pesetas; in other words, the same amount that Haig cited in 1978 (p 174). Thus, the direct costs would only increase the defense budget by 0.31 percent over that approved for 1981. The financial problem will have to be examined more in depth, but one thing can now be asserted: The book has a lag of years at least because, among other things, it overlooks the American request for an increase in the 3 percent of the GNP of the member nations. That updating prompted General Haig himself to make a substantial change in the annual dues, multiplying the billion of 1978 by six, in the case of Spain. The PSOE's calculations, made in a very moderate way, indicate that Spain's entry into NATO would raise the defense budget by about 40 percent more than that for 1981.

The opinion in this regard expressed by the members of the military who were polled is also clear. Chiefs, officers and petty officers think that the entry would entail more advantages in terms of war material, but the majority are unanimous in responding to the question as to whether the entry into NATO would entail more disadvantages than advantages (Table III).

One final observation regarding the poll. In any case, and if one has a minimal amount of intellectual honesty, one would have to say that all the responses given by the military, and primarily the direct one on whether or not Spain should enter NATO, should be evaluated in the light of the understanding that they themselves claim to have of the matter (Table IV). It is already known that, among the civilian population, the lack of understanding that exists is the number one problem. Although, according to all the polls, the majority think that Spain should not enter NATO, nearly 40 percent state that they have no evidence in the matter.

In the case of the members of the Armed Forces, this lack of understanding is far less, as is to be expected, but even so, only a significant 17 percent claim to have a great understanding of the issue. It seems evident that the UCD government wants to make a decision by giving the Spanish society a shock treatment.

Table III

Advantages and Disadvantages

	Economic	
	Advantages	Disadvantages
Chiefs	50.2	56.2
Officers	19.0	71.4
Petty Officers	0.0	100.0

Note: These are questions with more than one answer, and therefore they do not add up to 100 percent. (Magazine DEFENSA)

Table IV

Understanding of NATO

	Chiefs	Officers	Petty Officers	Totals
Much	12.5	19.2	28.5	17.17
Moderate	68.7	66.6	61.5	67.08
Little	18.8	14.2	10.0	15.75

Source: Data from DEFENSA poll.

NATO Entry Undermining UCD Unity

Madrid EL SOCIALISTA in Spanish 2-8 Sep 81 p 22

[Article by Miguel Angel Molinero: "NATO Also Divides UCD"]

[Text] Every time a political issue of national scope and projection is dealt with, UCD shows signs of wanting to illustrate, for the umpteenth time, by its action, the famous "Saturn Devouring His Children" that was present in the dreams of Goya's intellect. Divorce, the autonomies and ideology are links in that long chain. The matter of joining NATO could not be an exception. Now, it is claimed that this was always a key point in the Centrist political program, with a touch of pride at having been capable of maintaining a position throughout the transitional period. But the reality is quite different: No sooner had the military *Guadiana* of NATO appeared, when it became lost in a boundless future. In particular, painstaking care was taken not to stress "the Atlantic option" when there were electoral confrontations on the horizon; something which confirms the Centrist apprehension that the decision might be substantiated by appealing to the voters. They assume, with good reason, that among the Spanish people there is a large majority who view the joining with misgivings, if not outright aversion.

Suarez Against Suarez

In order to present the matter from a perspective that would be more favorable to its interests, it was necessary to resort to the presumed "very secret" pact of the PSOE with the CPSU, in an attempt to revive the most outworn scarecrows of the cold war, which was described by Calvo Sotelo himself as an "indiscretion" on the part of the Centrist apparatus. With the aura of 23-F, the sudden acceleration that the current president of the government wishes to give to NATO is intended to be definitive. In addition to public opinion, he must convince sectors of his own party, headed by Adolfo Suarez no less, who participated actively in the designation of his successor.

During his term, Suarez, with his well-known, technique, did some juggling with the possibility of joining the Atlantic Alliance, followed by rapid sleight of hand. At one particular time, Marcelino Oreja, then minister of foreign affairs, considered the membership about to be accomplished within a short time, in some reverberating statements. Later, the matter entered the shadowy area at Moncloa, and it was eventually extinguished. The international obstacles involved in our relations with the Latin American and Arab nations, not to mention Gibraltar, whose British sovereignty we would be forced to defend within NATO, in a paradox of gigantic proportions, worthy of Chesterton, entered Suarez' mind.

The latest meeting of the UCD Executive Committee, held last week, was the stage for the confrontation between Suarez and Calvo Sotelo, who thereby publicly broke the pact of silence observed up until then, and explained their differences, which are fundamental. This appeared to be an initial episode in what promises to be an inflexible power struggle within the Centrist party. Suarez, flanked by Abril Martorell and, from another angle, by Fernandez Ordóñez and the Social Democrats, expressed serious reservations about the feasibility of a precipitous entry into NATO at a time when decisions such as that concerning the assembly of the neutron bomb negate the value of recent promises by Calvo Sotelo, who did not hesitate to state that our entry would not entail the installation of nuclear devices in our territory, an inconceivable argument if there be any, bordering on childishness. He also dealt with the unprotected state in which the Alliance leaves Ceuta and Melilla; Calvo Sotelo repeated the superficial argument with which he has presented NATO's requirements on other occasions, and withstood, as best he could, the criticism opposing his intention. At that time, all his concern was focused on finding ways to rob Parliament insofar as possible of the opportunity to hold a discussion, converting it into a mere sounding board for his previously adopted decision. In this connection, his consultation of the Superior Council of the branches of the Armed Forces, and the legal opinion requested of the Council of State, both of which are entities formally included in ramifications of the administration, implies a return to times wherein the legality of decisions was a matter for power systems which backed one another. On this occasion, everything that does not emanate from the Constitution and from Parliamentary consideration is an expedient of dubious usefulness, accrediting only the government's intentions. The suture points which precariously tie UCD together will not be strengthened by the NATO campaign. The insecurity of the government party has prompted it to decide, at the last minute and in an improvised manner, on a press campaign aimed at countering the projection which the Parliamentary left's actions have had on public opinion that is not particularly predisposed toward entry into NATO, and alarmed by the haste with which it

is desired to settle an issue of such heavy caliber, one that has never been better described. The NATO issue, according to Calvo Sotelo's intention designed to give an impression of decision in military matters, which have been painfully sensitive of late, and to reinforce the always broken unity of UCD by way of dialectical confrontation among other forces, will not serve these purposes. Rather, it has opened another breach. It is not an "ideological" issue for left-right polarization, but rather one for calm consideration of a decision that has appeared replete with dangers.

2909
CSO: 3110/6

LO SHIFTS CONCERN TO MAINTAINING ECONOMY POSITION

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Sep 81 p 9

[Article by Bo A. Ericsson: "A Different Congress: LO in a Double Crisis"]

[Text] There must be a reconstruction of the entire economy. At the same time there must be a more just sharing of incomes, property and influence, through the employee funds and by other means. That will be the main message from the 20th congress of LO [Federation of Trade Unions] which begins at the end of next week.

LO says that Sweden today finds itself in a double crisis. In order to survive it and save jobs, a new and broader cooperation is required. There must be an end to sharp confrontation between different parts of society.

The LO congress begins next Saturday--19 September--and in several ways it will be a different congress.

During most of the postwar period LO congresses have dealt with forward movement, of reforms of various kinds on a broad front.

It will not be like that this time. Now it will instead be a question of protecting the gains that have been made.

The reason for that is the dramatic change of scenery which has taken place since the last congress in the spring of 1976 and which created a new situation in, among others, the two areas which make up the heart of the labor union movement: employment and wages.

In both of these areas the situation today is that the labor union movement is forced into a defensive position, and can not as previously safeguard the members' interests.

Some of the main features in this change of scenery which took place are briefly described as follows:

- The economic growth has been drastically slowed--there is no longer a growing cake to divide, and there is not, as previously, room for reforms. Instead, we are living beyond our means.

- Real wages have not only stopped growing, many groups today have less money at their disposal than before.
- A long-range crisis for jobs has arisen which is probably of greater dimensions than at any time previously in the postwar period, and which will hit LO members hardest of all.
- There is no longer a social democratic government in Government House--with all that implies for LO in the form of fewer contacts, different values, etc.
- Employers' organizations have--as LO sees it--become more militant, more politically inclined, resulting in a worsened climate for contacts.

Imbalance

LO Secretary Rune Molin, the LO official responsible for the congress, said, "We have come away from the important balance which previously existed and which meant that the capitalists had the economic power and the labor movement had the political power."

These changes have led in practice to LO's influence generally decreasing, and its possibilities to act and achieve concrete results are thereby limited.

For example, with increasing unemployment--the really dominant question in the labor movement today--LO can still make demands, ask questions and try to win supporters as before. But, they say in the LO Building, they do not listen to us. Therefore the developments of recent years have meant for LO a sort of wandering in the wilderness.

"But it has also meant," said Rune Molin, "a warning signal to society at large that Sweden has lately begun to experience such unusual things as occupation of factories and talk of political strikes to demonstrate against unemployment."

The changes have also had other results. For example, computerization has gone faster than was expected at the last LO congress.

At the same time the restructuring of industry has gone deeper, farther and more perceptibly than expected--with a great loss of jobs as a result. And in step with this there are increased protectionist tendencies within several LO organizations.

Priorities

The fact that LO must now firmly prioritize employment and perpetuation of jobs has caused several other questions, which previously were on top in the debate, to yield their places somewhat. For example working environment, equality, MBL [workers' right to participate in management], the international questions, all fit into this category.

Among the motions to the congress which LO leadership will reject--this may later prove to be incorrect--are, for example, demands for nationalization of banks and insurance companies, energy supplies, oil companies, private foresteries and pharmaceutical companies.

Rune Molin said, "The main question today is how we will arrive at a situation where industry can again begin to expand and will again have something to divide. Which demands are placed on us, and what demands we can make. Before this we need a dialogue with business, and we need to come up from the trenches."

In the agenda of the congress there is a long list of recommendations about how Sweden can emerge from the crisis, according to LO's view of the matter. Mainly it is to create a more offensive economic policy than the policy of contraction that the government is following.

In the report on "Business Policies for the 80's" it is stated that the double crisis consists of: an economic inflation and structure crisis, and a crisis of confidence in the sharing policy. Both have had results which the LO can not accept.

In the same report it also says, "The basis for a way out of the crisis must be better and broader cooperation with business. The development toward sharp confrontation which marked the 70's must be ended. Cooperation must be based on mutual concessions between employee and businessman...and on a broad agreement about division of income between the laborer and the office worker, and between the industrial official and the public official."

The key to this understanding, according to LO, is employee funds. The report says, "The key question is that the employees must accept higher profits in business in order to finance a strengthened solidarity and a quick increase in investment--especially in the competitive sector, at the same time as the businesses must agree that the employees get a share of these profits, make collective pay distributions to owners' capital and in return are given influence in the company."

Higher Profits

Briefly, therefore: higher profits, temperate wage demands in return for employee funds.

An important element in the background of the congress is that many "ordinary" LO members today connect the fund question directly to employment. The funds have come to represent a main instrument to ensure jobs. At the same time security in work today is a larger question for many than wages.

But if that is the LO view, the position on the employer side of that disputed question is the direct opposite. If there is something they will not have in this world, it is the employee funds.

The managing director of SAF [Swedish Employers' Confederation] Olof Ljunggren said, "SAF can not deal with LO or any other organization on the employee funds. The market economy and a free society of the type which we have is not compatible with the type of socialism that the funds would lead to. Even the threat of the employee funds is one of the greatest economic problems."

Public Employees Largest in LO

For the first time the public employees' organizations in the LO congress will have more representatives than the three largest industries together.

Altogether the Municipal Workers' Union and the Government Employees' Union will have 107 representatives as opposed to 90 for metal, factory, and construction workers.

This is because the Municipal Workers' Union--with Sigvard Marjasin as chairman--has now grown to be LO's largest union, and metal, the largest union previously, has grown smaller.

This can possibly lead to a certain tension during the congress on such questions as what compensation the public workers should have for other LO groups' wage drift.

Altogether there are almost 700 motions which representatives will vote on during the 6-day long congress.

Of the 300 representatives about 25 percent are women, up from 17 percent in 1976. The growth is the result of the municipal workers now having a still larger share of women among its representatives than 5 years ago.

9287
CSO: 3109/4

EXPERT COMMENTS ON SOCIALISTS' GOALS FOR WAGE-EARNER FUND

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 9 Sep 81 p 22

[Article by Elisabeth Crona: "Chairman of Fund Investigation: Social Democrats Must Take a Clear Position"]

[Text] "The social democrats must now take a clear position on the market economy. The bourgeois criticism is not unjustified. There is a lack of clarity within the party."

He who said that is Berndt Ohman. He has been on the inside of the investigation of employee funds from its beginning, first as secretary and after the departure of Allan Larsson as chairman. On Wednesday the investigating committee gave its final report. For 6 years Ohman has remained silent about his opinions and his work on this controversial committee.

"We should not have politicized secretaries. But now I think I have the right to say what I think," said Berndt Ohman to SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

The work of the committee is largely finished. The members have departed. Only three of them remained the entire time--Maj-Lis Landberg, Karl-Erik Nilsson and Erland Waldenstrom. But all the expert reports are not finished. Three are due in October and four more before Christmas. They deal with important questions such as ownership and the definition of profits.

In a long article in the latest issue of ECONOMISK DEBATT Ohman describes the work of the committee and outlines his own principles for possible employee funds.

Too Large

That sounds like a powerful sigh?

He replied, "Yes, the task was too large. It should have been limited. The goal should have been made clear from the beginning."

The work of the committee clearly became all the more complicated and infected with politics?

"Yes, it became all the more difficult to get the secretariat to function. If there is to be an overview, the area surveyed must be limited.

"I believe that in this investigation we pointed out difficulties much greater than LO had ever imagined. But at the same time we found certain possibilities for introducing a fund system."

He said the debate was too definitely either for or against the market economy. But as a passive social democrat himself, he thought that the Social Democratic Party bore a large part of the blame for that.

Lost Credibility

"The labor movement has lost credibility in that in the debate it very strongly criticized the market economy, while in practical politics it has both accepted and defended it.

"Opponents have had a monopoly on this idea. The labor movement's position is unfortunate..."

"The entire strongly critical debate on the market economy in the 70's was unfortunate," said Berndt Ohman.

"I see no alternative to the market economy. For me the funds are a way of improving it."

Ohman's own recommendations is that a limited, not immediately revolutionary, reform should be introduced. At the same time further investigations should be carried out and the fund system eventually developed. Experience should give the answers.

Equalized Ownership

He desires--like a number of motioners in the social democratic congress--to tone down the goal of building up capital. It seems unreasonable, in his opinion, to use increased buildup of capital as the main argument for a permanent fund system. As the main goal he would instead use the equalization of the ownership structure in the business world.

"Market economies can look very different. The central task," he said in developing his ideas in the ECONOMISK DEBATT article, "can be said to be the struggle for justice in the conditions of the market and the price system."

"The problem is how to change a given social structure without damaging production and without breaking with the principles of ethics and justice, while realizing that respect for democratic values demands that social structures be changed."

Force is Not Good

Forcible procedures such as obligatory stock issues are rejected by Ohman as both unnecessary and ineffective.

"This seems to me to be a mock-radical reform, which within LO can perhaps be motivated by internal matters, but which lacks the probability that the funds will be created at all."

Berndt Ohman can imagine several different fund models, and he also believes--in spite of the 6 years of investigation--that there are still areas to look into.

"For example, one can ask whether both business-related employee funds and tax-stimulated voluntary share savings plans should have been studied more thoroughly."

9287
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POLI SHOWS THIRTY PERCENT DROP IN APPROVAL OF GOVERNMENT

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 11 Sep 81, 7 DAGAR Supplement p 8

[Article: "Lower Marks Given by Swedish People to Government Today According to Poll by SIFO Done For 7 DAGAR"]

[Text] In August 1978 SIFO [Swedish Institute of Public Opinion Research] went out and asked the Swedish people how the three-party bourgeois government managed during its 2 years in power. Well or rather well, replied 88 percent of the bourgeois voters. Since then 3 years have gone by, and when the Swedish people were asked a similar question in August 1981 only 58 percent of the bourgeois voters answered that their parties had managed well or very well in Government House.

The 3 years between the polls contained much political drama. The three-party government which came to power fell after disagreement on nuclear power. A Liberal Party government followed. Then another three-party government, and finally the present middle government.

The tepid evaluation penetrates all three bourgeois parties. The 5 years have greatly reduced their marks.

Even among the social democrat and communist voters the marks have fallen. In 1978 25 percent of the voters from parties on the left thought that the bourgeois government managed things rather well. Now the figure is 9 percent.

The questions which SIFO asked were:

1978: On the whole, when you look back on the bourgeois three-party government, do you think it has done a very good, rather good, rather poor or very poor job?

1981: When you look back on 5 years of bourgeois governments do you think that on the whole they have done a very good, rather good, rather poor or very poor job?

The answers were divided as follows:

	Bourgeois		Socialists	
	1978	1981	1978	1981
Very good	17%	2%	1%	0%
Rather good	71	56	25	9
Rather poor	8	33	45	43
Very poor	1	3	22	41
Doubtful, do not know	4	6	7	6

Center Party and Liberal Party voters gave the bourgeois governments somewhat better marks than the Conservative Party voters, but the differences are not large.

	Conservative	Liberal	Center	SDP	Communists
Very good	2%	5%	1%	0%	0%
Rather good	55	53	59	9	7
Rather poor	36	32	28	44	37
Very poor	3	1	2	41	48
Doubtful, do not know	4	9	10	6	8

What Government Did Best

Those interviewed also answered in their own words, "What do you think was the best thing that the bourgeois governments did?"

The figures following these answers indicate the number of identical answers, and under each answer are some variations which reappeared often. A total of 1,011 people took part in the poll.

1. Reduction of taxes, 35 answered
 - Tax reform
 - Income taxes
 - Savings on tax reserves
 - Allowing berry-pickers 5,000 kronor tax free
2. Carried out change of government, 30 answered
 - Stopped onesided socialistic development
 - Opposed socialism
3. Supported economic policies, 30 answered
 - The economic policies themselves
 - Tried to hold inflation down to a reasonable level
4. Thrifty with public funds, 27 answered
 - Thrifty in the public sector
 - Tried to reduce some contributions

Then there were a number of areas which had varying answers, for example, reducing bureaucracy, improvement in schools, lowering prices on planes and trains.

What Government Did Worst

Those interviewed also answered the question "What do you think was the worst thing the bourgeois governments did?" The interviewers wrote down verbatim what was said.

1. Employment, 84 answered

- Increased unemployment
- Promised great improvement in unemployment, but did nothing
- Too weak actions against unemployment

2. Economic policy, 84 answered

- They were too late in doing something about the bad economic situation
- Raised interest rates too high
- Drove the economy into the ground

3. Splits between government parties, 82 answered

- They are so inconsistent, never agree
- Poor cooperation between bourgeois parties

Other complaints involved price policies, foreign debts, economic policies, industry policies, alcohol policies, etc. Those interviewed could list twice as many things that the bourgeois governments did badly as they did well.

Footnote: The interviews were conducted between 19 August and 1 September. The collection of data took place through SIFO's current interview series "Weekly Bus." For home visits a national sample of 1,110 people of ages 18-70 was interviewed. The figures are approximate.

9287

CSO: 3109/4

BUREAUCRACY EYED IN LIGHT OF ULUSU PRESS CONFERENCE

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 19 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Osman Kibar: "Gentlemanly Speaking: Treatment must not be delayed!"]

[Text] After attentively watching the Honorable Premier Ulusu's press conference on television, I also read a good number of newspapers. However, I am not about to discuss what the premier did or the figures which were given or the other topics raised, because everyone heard him and read about it. Instead, I feel the need to pursue for a way at least an idea about the scene which struck my eye right at the beginning of the conference. Certainly the premier's foremost staff members and advisors are the deputy premiers. And the premier's accompaniment by those deputies relevant to the subject matter of his talk is a custom to which we have long since become habituated. No government member is there by that minister's own decision; he is present at the conference at the premier's invitation. This unaltering rule is protocol. Now look at the people who were present with Premier Ulusu during this conference: two deputy premiers and the Finance Minister and the Trade Minister. If we dig a little, we find that the four of them are graduates of the civil service school. Three of them have their experience in finance and have been shaped on the lathe of bureaucracy, with two having been undersecretaries, and one a sterling-silver bureaucrat who attained the level of general-secretary. According to one Istanbul newspaper, this is the premier's unchanging staff. Fine then, where was Turgut Ozal Bey, the other deputy premier, who is not a civil service school graduate, who is known by all to have the final word on economic problems, and who has not had the pleasure of being a bureaucrat? And why wasn't he there? For sure I couldn't stop asking myself this question. It couldn't be more natural than to have the premier take to his side those deputy premiers who are his advisors for subjects which are to be broached in his speech or, if he wishes, even to bring his ministers along. At his side were his coordinators for anarchy, public security and other affairs, which is right and proper. Fine, but while the talk is of economic problems and while there are economic issues, why wasn't the coordinator for this sector present? Even supposing it was an oversight, one of the foremost responsibilities of administration is to be very, very careful in making arrangements and in behavior so as not to give opportunity for speculation to arise.

Gradually we are heading toward the goal mapped out by a year's military administration. Albeit slow, it requires rather prudent work to advance together with dignity and to establish a new state on a secure and stable foundation. The more

revelations that are made and the more that investigations advance, the more impossible it becomes not to be horrified at how widespread and how comprehensive is the great misfortunes which we are undergoing. Tercuman newspaper's latest reportage on "The Triangle of Terror" displays one by one the acts of the PLO. When one remembers those who kissed the invaders of our Egyptian Embassy, where Turkish guards were killed, what was going on becomes clear. And especially when it comes out that the two sons of a government minister who could kiss the murderers of his own ministry's personnel were the members of a leftist group and purchased weapons with money they had stolen, is it possible not to understand the scale of the problem?

The Honorable Premier Ulusu explained with great openness and with figures the progress that has been made in fighting anarchy. And he indicated that he was resolved to continue his efforts ceaselessly in this matter. It would be appropriate to say, "May God be with him!"

In the premier's lengthy statement there was a certain passage: "And now a tide of denunciations has been released to halt the machinery of state." This means that finally he has touched on the monstrous trouble created in our country by the grand dragon of bureaucracy. This problem is neither simple nor easy. A great mistake would be made in diagnosing the illness by attributing the bureaucracy's fierce resistance to only the anarchist front. It is necessary to be careful, very careful. What the bureaucrat shrinks back from most is political power. He is very ill at ease with the people and with the public's seeking its rights, and therefore he is always putting up resistance.

I shall give you a few small examples. The production of electricity does not meet consumption. In a nation wishing to develop at a normal pace the demand for energy will surely increase. Naturally, as the energy available becomes insufficient, certain power cutoffs will be made. This is unavoidable. But there is an orderly way of going about this. No one need ask why in a day the power is cut off for one hour, two hours, even three hours. It suffices that arrangements be orderly and decisions be made prudently. In fixing the hours there should be no departure from the practice of sharing and the principles of equity. However, the administration of the Turkish Electric Power Enterprise announced last week that the current may be cut off at any hour and that the time and duration of the cut-off will not be made public. The rationale is this: 'I'll give you energy while it's available, and when it runs out, I'll cut it off.' Whose property are they protecting with such cavalier behavior anyway? Who will think of those stuck in elevators, those whose electric motors burn out, and those whose machines are ruined? Even if there's a little extra unused energy, keep it back, but let things be done in a regular and determined fashion. There you have it, the bureaucratic mentality. It places no worth in the public.

In Istanbul the city government made a decision. Everywhere in this city of five million people fruits and vegetables will be sold at standard prices. By God, my poor head cannot grasp this. Anyhow, a decision is a decision. See how the esteemed bureaucracy immediately rendered this decision unworkable. The administration of the municipal Directorate of Fruit and Vegetable Markets hides the daily prices like a "state secret," and tells them to no one. Meanwhile the

directors of the city branches, which are likewise agents of the municipality, say that they have received no "official" notification of the prices. And naturally the decreed single-price decision is dead before it is born.

I have on purpose chosen to give these two simple appearing incidents. They represent two typical examples from our daily lives of the mentality which has not the slightest concern or hesitation to inconvenience the public. We could start in again with more examples.

The bureaucracy's inflexibility and resistance increases daily. If we do not address this trouble in the same way we are attending to the anarchy, very fine work will be spoiled.

The Honorable Premier Ulusu stated that it is not feasible to cure "all diseases" simultaneously and that treatment will be undertaken step by step, but one must give precedence to those diseases the treatment of which will be impossible after gangrene has set in.

9793

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TRIAL OF NAP DEFENDANTS RESUMES IN ANKARA**Procedure, Testimony, Charges Reported**

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 20 Aug 81 p 12

[Text] Ankara--Special Dispatch--The trial of NAP [Nationalist Action Party] and its auxiliary organizations began yesterday at the Ankara Martial Law Military Court. Strict security measures were in force at the trial which has attracted broad attention. Listeners' space was filled in the early hours of the morning and no listeners were admitted into the Mamak military barracks as of 7:45 am. This was announced on megaphones and those waiting outside were dispersed.

The trial was held in the new lounge prepared in Mamak. The listeners, lawyers and members of the press corps who started arriving in the early hours of the morning were transported from the barracks to the building containing the trial room in three buses. The buses had to make several trips. Those admitted underwent a search while passing through the barracks.

Around 9 am the defendants were admitted to the trial room in pairs through a back door and were seated in the section reserved for them. Space on two sides of the room were reserved for defense lawyers and attorneys of intervening parties. As a result of the large number of defense lawyers some of them had to squat down on their heels. Lawyers from France also stood with the defense attorneys.

After the defendants from Mamak took their place in the room, defendants from the Language School were brought in. Defendants staying at the Language School with [NAP leader Alpaslan] Turkes were brought to Mamak in a prison bus.

Judicial Assembly and Prosecutors

Later the judicial assembly and the prosecution team took their places.

The judicial assembly was made up of the following persons:

Presiding Judge: Senior Colonel Irfan Yucesan of the Air Force Engineers Corps; Trial Judge: Justice Vural Ozenirler, senior mayor; Member Judge: Justice Ali Fahri Kayacan, Air Force Captain.

The prosecution team consisted of: Justice Nurettin Soyer, Air Force Colonel; Justice Okan Yalcinkaya, Lieutenant Commander; and Justice Nihat Demirel Navy First Lieutenant. Also present were four stenographers who assumed their duties.

The Trial Begins

The trial began at 9 am exactly with a roll call of the defendants. During the roll call defendants who were formerly parliamentary deputies responded by raising their hands and saying "I am here." It was determined during the roll call that of the 587 defendants 14 were under arrest, 33 were not under arrest and 47 were not in the room.

After the roll call the trial judge stated that the "presence of the seven French lawyers—who have come to audit the hearings—among the defense lawyers is against the law" and asked them to sit with the listeners or members of the press corps. The French attorneys came to the press bay and followed the rest of the hearings from there.

Kemal Turkler—who came to the trial as an intervening party—his spouse Sabahat Turkler and his daughter Nilgun Turkler as well as some attorneys of intervening parties were not admitted to the trial room by the trial judge and some of the defense lawyers were seated in their places. The trial judge also stated that the court will decide whether attorneys of intervening parties will be admitted to the trial.

Just before the start of the identification process Ali Fuat Eyupoglu, one of the defendants not under arrest, said that he is releasing his attorney Leman Yetkin from that function. Leman Tekin replied: "I was not going to be his agent in any event; I was simply waiting for his turn to identify himself."

Meanwhile, defendant Cengiz Gokcek objected to the fact that some of the defendants were brought from the Language School in a prison vehicle. He said: "Whereas other political party administrators were transported from the Language School in buses, 19 of us were brought to the trial in a prison vehicle with a passenger section area of 6 square meters. I protest this situation."

Later, Nuri Erdogan, one of the attorneys of Turkes and his friends, took the floor and said: "NAP's activities have been banned, but the party has not been closed down and Turkes, who has assumed his functions by the wish of the party congress, is still the party's leader."

After Nuri Erdogan's statement was recorded, the identification process was started. Turkes, who was first to be identified, said that "he is the NAP leader."

Other defendants who were within the party administration stated their position in the party as their professions. Ihsan Kabadayi, a defendant not under arrest, said he is a "former soldier," while defendant Necati Gultekin stated that he is a "retired general."

The morning portion of the hearings lasted till 12 noon and a total of 110 defendants were identified.

While the identification process was under way a soldier from the security unit found a piece of paper circulating among the defendants and brought it to the prosecutor. The piece of paper was passed on to the trial judge who had it read. The note on the paper said: "It will stick on whoever admits it. We left it in a vineyard house on the road to Samsun. Then we buried the weapon. You say that we went to work in the garden and not to get rid of the weapon. You say that the guard did not know."

The judge stated that the note was linked with Topraklik defendants Eray Acargil and Guven Sayin and had the note placed in a file.

The Defendants Greet Turkes

Meanwhile, it was noted that the defendants who took the stand to be identified first greeted the court and then, on their way back to their seats, lightly greeted Turkes.

Turkes Leaves Early

The identification process continued in the afternoon. Around 3:30 pm Sevket Canozbay, one of Turkes' attorneys took the floor and said that the "room is very hot and unventilated." Stating that his client, Turkes, had an indisposition with his heart 3 days ago, Canozbay asked that Turkes be allowed to leave the room. The prosecutors did not object to this request; the judicial assembly permitted Turkes to return to the Language School.

A total of 399 defendants were identified in yesterday's hearings; the identification process will continue today. Meanwhile, at the conclusion of yesterday's identification process, the defense lawyers demanded that "some of the defendants at the Language School be transported to the trial room in buses instead of prison vehicles;" that "the hearings be broadcast live" and that "the hearings be held in a larger room." Attorneys wishing to attend the hearings as injured parties submitted a petition to the court demanding that a decision be reached on their attendance and that spaces reserved for them in the trial room be vacated.

The court adjourned for consultations in camera for decisions on the requests. After the judicial assembly returned to the room defense lawyer Sevket Canozbay said that during the break armed soldiers were placed between the defendants and the lawyers. Stating that "they were grieved by such measures," Canozbay said: "We are protesting this situation and are leaving the room." Later some attorneys left the room.

Kosoglu's and Akyol's Statements

Of the defendants who took the floor, Nevzat Kosoglu said: "We are not asking for special treatment. If those accusing us of being fascists treat us in a fascist manner, I will not testify before this court even if I am sentenced to death or even if I am shot to death." Kosoglu also said that he had problems about talking to the lawyers, smoking and taking his coat off during the break and demanded that these issues be clarified.

Defendant Taha Akyol said: "An event like this could only happen under a totalitarian regime. We believe that our rights for defense will be curtailed. If that is what will happen let us know from the beginning; make your decisions before we defend ourselves."

After these statements, the judicial assembly announced its decisions in connection with requests. The court decided that requests related to the transportation of the defendants, the state of the room and the measures in effect during the trial be taken to the general command; that a decision be reached on the admission of intervening parties after the completion of the identification process; that substitute judges to be appointed question defendants who are outside of Ankara and those who could not be present at yesterday's hearings; and that the hearings be adjourned to today.

Charges in the Indictment

According to the indictment the charges leveled against the NAP and its auxiliary organizations are briefly as follows:

1. To attempt by use of force, in contravention of republicanism and principles of democracy, to change the constitutional system to a state ruled by a single person;
2. To arm the people of Turkey against one another, to incite massacre, to cause massacre and to take part in these crimes;
3. To form an armed society to commit crimes mentioned in the 146th and 149th article of the Turkish Penal Code;
4. To form a society whose objective is to have a state ruled by a single person in contravention of republicanism and principles of democracy, to organize the activities of this society and be an administrator and a member of this society;
5. To threaten by making use of the pressure capability of certain organizations in order to realize an objective or to pave the way toward that objective;
6. To smuggle weapons and to carry weapons without license;
7. Theft;
8. To conceal tools of crime.

Comments On Resumption Of NAP Trial

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 20 Aug 81 p 8

[Article by Teoman Erel: "The NAP Trial"]

[Text] The section rising in steps in the back has been divided into two. One half has been reserved for the press the other half for the listeners. The area in front of them is for the defendants. Those not under arrest stand in the back divided by a rope from those under arrest standing in front of them.

Further to the front is a pulpit from which the defendants can speak. On the two sides of the pulpit are separate seats on which defense lawyers and attorneys of intervening parties can sit.

And facing the listeners and the defendants there is a somewhat long rectangular platform on which the judges and the prosecutors will be seated.

Members of the press corps, the listeners and the defendants staying at Mamak enter the largish room which has a roof of steel construction and whose walls were hurriedly built of prefabricated materials just in time for the trial.

As the pressmen look ahead they see on their right that the group of defense lawyers is quite large. Among them are the black-robed French lawyers with white cravats. We learned that they would attend the hearings just before the start of the trial from Ergun Goze's article. Some of them are sitting on the floor.

Around 8:30 am the defendants staying at Mamak take their seats in the room. They have their hair cut. The door they enter from is to the right of the press corps and to the left of judicial assembly and on the same line as the foremost defendant seats.

The defendants staying at the Language School are now awaited. Alparslan Turkes, parliamentary deputies and leading party members are staying there.

There is curiosity about the looks and reception of Turkes who has had an indisposition with his heart recently.

At 8:57 am defendants brought over from the Language School enter the room.

Alparslan Turkes is leading. He is wearing a dark blue suit and a dark blue tie. His stride is normal; his face looks tired and tense.

Turkes and the defendants following him have not had their hair cut.

Turkes greets the defense lawyers and the French lawyers among them and takes his reserved seat in the foremost row. He turns back and exchanges amenities.

The NAP trial in which the prosecution has demanded 220 death sentences has now begun.

The attention raised in public by the heart indisposition suffered by Turkes 36 hours prior to the start of the trial is still alive.

It is well known that routine procedures such as identification and the reading of the indictment--which was publicized prior to the trial--will reduce tensions. Some time will pass before the important phases of the trial.

There may be those who may attribute a decision of discharge made purely for medical reasons by doctors on or before 12 August 1981 to the initiative of the patient in order to create a favorable atmosphere of the patient.

There may also be those who may want to maintain tension and attention at top levels by exaggerating routine events or by making small classic trial gestures.

In the past we tried to sound warnings about certain moves in another political trial. The emotionalization of such important political trials with so many defendants involved is particularly not helpful to the defendants.

Such moves to heighten emotions serve no useful purpose for the nation or the country. Turkey, which was pulled from the brink of civil war by the Armed Forces about a year ago, is still under treatment.

An overwhelming majority of the people is in peace compared to 11 months ago. Security has been provided. Steps are being taken toward democracy.

But this does not mean that everybody has calmed down and that everybody has found peace. Those who lived in the midst of years of fierce and bloody struggles and those who were a party to them are still as tense as they could be.

They have either been sentenced or they are being tried. Or they are expecting better or worse things between hope and fear wherever they are hiding.

In the long term, it will be necessary to "rehabilitate" this minority which has not been able to relieve itself of tensions.

Former members of leftist or rightist organizations who have escaped the ultimate sentence will spend a large or small part of their lives in prisons. Eventually they will be freed.

There will also be those who will be acquitted.

The scabbing and healing of the wound will be most difficult for those who are contaminated with violence.

But it is in the interest of our nation that the treatment is as painless as possible both for the masses and for those who have been contaminated with violence and that the bill remains just so large as it can be paid on a continuous basis.

With this in mind it is the duty of every citizen, including those who cannot get rid of the tension, to avoid emotionalism as much as possible.

There is absolutely no need to get excited about sudden indispositions which can be considered normal for any human or about insignificant gestures.

The trial is on. The wheels of justice have begun to turn.

As of now what must be wanted is the manifestation of justice and not new emotional stirrings.

Let us add that the overwhelming majority of our nation has seen the difference between "fight" and "peace and quiet" during its lifetime and it has voted for "peace."

It is not possible to change this clear choice.

CHIEF FOR ECONOMIC DEFENSE WARNS OF INADEQUATE PLANNING

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 10 Sep 81 p 9

[Article by Erik Liden: "Getting Barely Half of Requirements: Economic Defense is Not Meeting Goals"]

[Text] "The economic defense has reached an impossible situation. The government has not even asked what it will take to meet our current goals, but says that 180 million kronor is enough."

This was said by Commissioner Gunnar Nordbeck of the National Board of Economic Defense (OEF) when on Friday he delivered OEF's 5-year plan to the government.

"The other branches of the total defense have been permitted to plan up to 1987 with unchanged appropriations. Even alternatives with increased appropriations have been permitted.

"I am required to start with half the funds which were available in the 1977 budget, further reduced by 10 percent. There is no longer any possibility of meeting official goals. Other means must be made available in order to meet, for example, the requirements for stockpiling in the textile industry."

Require 450 Million

Nordbeck pointed out that 450 million kronor are needed for immediate preparedness measures during the budget year 1982/83. The government, meaning the Ministry of Trade, will give 180 million kronor.

"That was one of the reasons why it was impossible for me to remain as chairman of the Defense Committee. I could not, in a hardened national economy, vindicate OEF's need of money against the other authorities.

"Obviously the government will decide that the possibilities for taking risks in security policy are best in the area of economic defense. That is the only way I can interpret the parsimony shown to us."

Will Sell

OEF will in the future sell off a portion of the preparedness stockpile in order to prioritize food, clothing, health and sick care. For the rest OEF must depend on the ability of business to adapt to crisis situations.

Scarce metals such as cobalt, chrome, vanadium and manganese are stockpiled in amounts of 1 and 2 months' requirements. These are available only in southern Africa. OEF has decided to increase the stockpiles to 3 months, but has no money for this. In the United States a 3-year stockpile has been acquired to meet the needs of the steel industry.

"This shows what small margins we are dealing with," said Norbeck.

"In the present economy we must rely on a highly uncertain crisis import, at the same time as our endurance is limited in many areas. This means taking a significant risk in our security policy."

From now until 1987 OEF wants a total, for oil and everything, of 17.8 billion. The government will grant at the most 12.2 billion.

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ARMED FORCES CHIEF SEES INCREASED SUPERPOWERS THREAT

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Sep 81 p 3

[Text] "Both gigantic naval exercises in the vicinity of Sweden, the Soviets in the Baltic and the large NATO exercises in the North Atlantic, illustrate in an obvious and worrisome way the importance which the superpowers place on northern ocean areas."

This was said by the OB [supreme commander of the Swedish Armed Forces], General Lennart Ljung, in a speech to the Navy League of Sweden at its 75th anniversary meeting in Gothenburg on Saturday.

He described the exercises as two of the largest in peacetime which the world has seen in a long time.

"Both of these large exercises comprise an exceptionally strong reminder of the extensive arms buildup at sea which both military blocs have carried out, or are in the process of carrying out," said the OB.

He said that this development, together with many other worrisome events involving security policy indicate increased risks for Sweden.

"It is easy to paint a rather gloomy picture of the development of the Swedish Navy during the 60's and the 70's," said the OB.

"But that is not the entire truth," continued General Ljung, and reminded that an extensive modernization and replacement program is going on in the navy.

For example he mentioned that the 50-ton motor torpedo boats are being replaced by 150-ton missile boats, and that 12 larger torpedo boats are being replaced by 18 so-called Spica boats (torpedo boats), most of which will be equipped with missiles within a few years.

The OB was, however, disappointed that only a very limited portion of the government support to shipyards was allocated to military orders.

The OB said it was unfortunate that the government did not consider it possible to support the shipyard industry and strengthen the defense forces to a greater extent.

Minister of Communications Claes Elmstedt (Center Party) spoke of the special problems of the merchant marine, among other things.

"This activity is exposed most of all to international competition," he said.

"The differences in the tax and licensing systems between Sweden and other maritime nations are great, and protectionism is growing in the world, while world trade is not growing at the same rate," he said.

"Most of Sweden's inland waterborne trade can not be shifted to land transport at a reasonable cost," said Elmstedt.

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AIR FORCE WEAPONS EXPERT: INDUSTRY MUST DEVELOP JAS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by Colonel Sten Bergstrom: "Armament Is Being Neglected--Too Great Funds Tied Up in the Aircraft Itself"; paragraphs enclosed in slantlines printed in bold-face]

[Text] If most of the available funds are put into the development of the aircraft itself instead of its weapons systems, the air force should reject the Swedish JAS [fighter-attack-reconnaissance aircraft]. So states Colonel Sten Bergstrom, the air force's own weapons expert at the Defense Material Administration, in this critical review of industry's role in the aircraft.

In the spring of 1980 the Riksdag decided to allocate 200 million kronor for studies of the next generation of military aircraft until 1 July 1982. Most of that amount would be used for the Swedish alternative called JAS. At that time a new defense decision is expected to apply to the 5-year period until 1987. That defense decision should also include a position on the JAS and thereby also the future of the Swedish aircraft industry.

Very little publicity has been given to how the aircraft question is developing. On 1 September the chief of staff of the air force should have delivered his recommendation to the OB [supreme commander of the Swedish armed forces], but it is just being delivered now, 2 weeks later. The Defense Committee has requested certain supplementary supporting material from the OB for its final position on the JAS decision.

In spite of all the efforts to get the supporting documents in time there is no one who dares to believe that the defense decision will provide a definitive solution to the aircraft question. Directives which have been issued concerning studies of continued production of the Viggen system are signals which can not be misunderstood in the current situation, where the approaching election next year plays an important role.

The technical-tactical requirements which are the basis of the current studies on JAS were worked out in 1980. If the decision on development work is made in 1982,

deliveries to air force units should begin just after 1990. Since the lifetime of aircraft is now tending to increase to 15 to 20 years, production is expected to continue to 2010. The last aircraft delivered should go into service by the year 2025 at the latest.

This time perspective can become worrisome, considering what technical developments can create in terms of altered requirements for the JAS delivered from about the year 2000 which will replace the fighter Viggen. These JAS will be in service at least until the year 2025, or 45 years from now. What were we thinking 45 years ago, in 1935, about the requirements for today's operational aircraft--Draken, for example?

Absurd

It is obviously absurd to state, in 1982, definitive requirements that must be met by an aircraft system (airborne weapons system) which will replace Viggen in fighter units in 20 or 30 years and will be in service for a further 15 or 20 years. Uncertainty in technical and operational developments does not permit such assumptions. Considering the size of the total costs for the JAS system and its great importance for the effectiveness of our defense, it is therefore absolutely necessary to ensure that conditions are created to manage the uncertainty of future developments.

As to aircraft performance, it is possible to prophesy a stagnation in the development toward still higher speeds and altitudes. This trend should possibly suggest that with a new generation of unified aircraft capable of performing as fighters, attack and reconnaissance aircraft, we can avoid large modifications increasing the performance of the aircraft. Stagnation of performance development means mainly that the operational value of the aircraft system can more cost effectively meet changed requirements through development of the weapons systems. The technical breakthrough which has taken place in electronics, primarily in microelectronics, is of special importance for missile and weapons development.

Rapid developments in the missile area mean that a changed balance between the platform (the aircraft) and its weapons system (reconnaissance and weapons equipments) is possible.

Our new air-to-surface missiles, with a threefold increase in range, reduce the importance of high speed of the attack aircraft to avoid the air defenses of the invasion forces. Other examples are attack missiles and guided bombs with which an attack can be made at low altitude without great interference from conventional antiaircraft and air defense missiles. New types of reconnaissance sensors for scouting air, sea and surface targets increase the range of airborne reconnaissance. Airborne combat information centers and long-range fighter planes will be important components of air defense about the year 2000.

New Conceptions

The economic framework for defense requires new conceptions for solving problems of replacing material in the armed forces. Maintenance of resources within the

country to obtain the armaments we need should be recognized as a national priority, especially when it applies to large, costly and important systems. The JAS is such a system in which the components--above all the weapons and certain electronics equipment, for example the search radar--can give a unique performance which would function with high effectiveness even against the superpowers.

It is therefore necessary that the development work on the platform itself not be permitted to get the same emphasis as was the case with Viggen--even if the aircraft industry should have that ambition. It would tie up too much development resources and demand such a large share of the cost that the weapons area would be underfunded. It is for that reason that if we are to protect a Swedish profile in our defense material system, it is the profile of the weapons system which is the most important, more important than the profile of the platform itself.

The available funds for the JAS must be sufficient for a good platform with long range and endurance. Also--and just as important--there must be funds for the weapons and electronics which constitute the high combat value of the JAS. Nor should JAS be so strictly described that we later are not able to fit it with technical developments from outside our country. And foremost, we must in our plans protect the flexibility for future adaptation to technical weapon developments.

Burden

As work on the JAS by the government is growing, a great responsibility has been placed on the "JAS Industrial Group" to find a balance of development contributions so that an "indigenous combined JAS system" could be a profitable alternative to the purchase of already developed foreign aircraft.

/If it proves that the industry under the leadership of Saab-Scania, because of too much comprehensive development work on the platform itself encumbered the economic resources too greatly, the air force can hardly support a Swedish JAS. The air force would then have to "sell" additional divisions, just to keep alive an aircraft industry which, with a shrinking air force, continues to be an absurdly expensive burden for both the air force and the national defense./

The alternative of an indigenous combined development assumes that the development of the air force and the combined work on the system should take place in Sweden. For reasons of economy the government expected that industry should, in large measure, utilize components and systems developed in combination with foreign industry, licensed in Sweden or bought outright from abroad.

/The government's directive does not seem to exclude industry's trying, to a larger extent than they obviously previously were prepared to do, to utilize more or less complete foreign platforms instead of developing an entirely new aircraft which, because of the cost would be "one size too small" and would lack the ability to be a unified aircraft through to the year 2025./

It would therefore be worrisome if too large resources and funds were expended on the aircraft itself in the JAS system, if a better aircraft could be obtained through further development of existing models, possibly with the support of foreign

industry. The JAS system could still be the result of a domestic combined development effort, and in all important respects have a "Swedish profile."

JAS could, together with a continued investment in civil projects, create conditions for retention of the Swedish aircraft industry on a level which protects our ability to produce the defense material we require. It is necessary therefore for industry to make a real balance between ambitions on the military and the civil side. The question is not: What is the smallest effort on the military side which safeguards the necessary competence for expanded input to civil projects? The question is rather: Which competence for development of military projects will be protected by the increased investment in civil projects? Complete competence to develop military aircraft we can no longer afford, but we can supplement it with foreign competence.

For the Swedish aircraft industry, JAS is a challenge which demands that the industry take a new approach which is required--even if it is inconvenient. The "JAS Industrial Group" has had its chance, but has probably missed it. Perhaps it will get another?

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STUDY SEES THREAT OF DANGEROUSLY OLD OFFICER CORPS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Sven Eric Ericson: "Sweden's Army Growing Old: In 20 Years Half of the Officers Will Be Over 45"]

[Text] In 15 years the officer leadership of the Swedish Army will be the oldest in Europe. Foreign conquerors who pour across Swedish borders or drop into the mountain regions by parachute will be met by Swedish soldiers commanded by officers in the 45 to 60 age group.

This is the result of increasing the age for pensioners from 50 to 60 which was done in the defense forces 9 years ago.

In the European countries which have experienced war once or twice during the long period of Swedish peace, they have learned through experience that it is not good to have combat officers over 45.

But in Sweden the development is in the opposite direction, and the average age of the officers serving with troops is increasing rapidly.

There are 8,800 active officers in the army today. In the new plan for the peace-time organization the OB [supreme commander of the Swedish Armed Forces] states that the number will be reduced by about 1,000 between now and the year 1992.

During the same period the number of officers over 45 will increase by 35 percent, and after the year 2000 that group will be almost half of all the active officers in the army.

"The effectiveness of the Swedish Army will not increase if we have leaders who are unable to accompany the troops into the field," was the laconic comment of Major Ulf Ingesson of the Army Staff.

"One result of this development can be an acute shortage of younger instructors who are fit to train and lead platoons. We are not going to have sufficient people in the right age group to man the army in case of war," explained Ulf Ingesson.

The causes of the increased average age and the resulting stagnation within the army can briefly be described as follows:

At the time when soldiers were grouped and draftees were conscripted, there were contract enlisted noncommissioned officers who often terminated at 30 or 40 years of age, and of those remaining most went on to be pensioned at 50.

Then contract enlistments were abolished, lifetime enlistments were introduced, and in 1972 the pension age was increased to 60 for all.

New Duties

Instead of pensioning about 400 noncommissioned officers per year, they suddenly had to create new duties for those who really were in excess.

Five hundred new duties at a cost of 200,000 kronor per year were created at once. Without increasing the effectiveness of the defense forces, the costs for "useless" work increased by 100 million kronor per year.

Today peacetime units are being eliminated to save money and reduce the bureaucracy within the army. And to adapt army training to a lower number of conscripts.

Within 10 years the number of conscripts coming in will be reduced approximately 5,000 from the present 35,000, according to the Army Staff.

"This is a stupid way to cure the disease within the Swedish Army," said Lieutenant Colonel Erik Rossander at the Armed Forces Staff College.

"They go after the peacetime units, when it is really the personnel structure which should be changed. Everyone within the army is surely busy, but too many of them are busy sending papers to each other," said Erik Rossander.

Just the Opposite

"In peacetime the defense forces need many young instructors and leaders, and a small number of higher commanders and administrators. Abroad they have satisfied this requirement in different ways, by short term assignments, early pensions for those who are not selected for promotion, etc. In Sweden, we do just the opposite," said Erik Rossander.

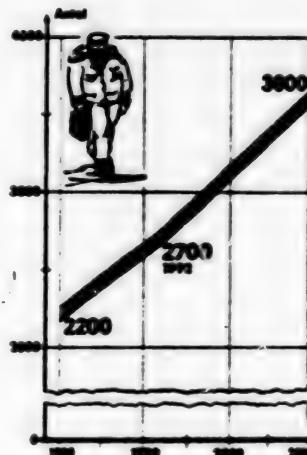
"If a number of units are eliminated in order to reduce the organization to fit the number of conscripts, the entire distortion is retained, but at a lower level. The service is worsened without increasing effectiveness. The symptoms are appeased without curing the disease," said Lieutenant Colonel Rossander. "But soon enough the concerns are going to be felt again."

Two Ways

"There are two ways to solve the problem," commented the chief of personnel planning in the Army Staff, Colonel Johan Palmgren.

"We can utilize skillful conscripts in an expanded volunteer organization in order to decrease the problem of an unfortunate age distribution," said Johan Palmgren.

"And then we can stimulate the older ones in different ways to leave the service. Perhaps they can be given a little money and transferred over to the reserves. Then we can use them in case of war, but be rid of them in peacetime. Otherwise we can only concentrate on using the older officers in the best way possible," explained Johan Palmgren.



Caption: More and More Over 45

The chart shows the increasing number of officers between 45 and 60 in the army. In 1981 there are 2,200 between 45 and 60. In 1992 there will be 2,700 between 45 and 60. In 2010 there will be 3,600 between 45 and 60. Since the number of active officers will decline by 1,000 over a 10-year period (from 8,800 to 7,800 in 1992), this means that the number of officers over 45 today are 25 percent of the entire officer corps. The number over 45 will double at about 2000, and then will be about half of all the officers in the army.

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EREL PUTS RELIGIOUS COURSES IN CONSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 18 Aug 81 p 8

[Article by Teoman Erel: "Religious Lessons and the Constitution"]

[Text] The undertaking to have compulsory teaching of religion by the state resembles a march through a mine field. Reaching safety is difficult. The danger is great.

The administration is inclined to take a step in this direction. But the reactions which have been voiced must have provoked a feeling that careful treading is necessary, because Premier Ulusu in his last press conference indicated that compulsory religious education would not begin in the coming autumn, and that progress on this matter would be very cautious.

Premier Ulusu stated that lessons in religion would generally be taught in the schools by regular teachers who have been given a special course, and that on rare occasions avail would be made of hodjas.

He revealed that curricula for this subject have not yet been prepared.

During a chat after the press conference, a few colleagues and I directed questions on these matters to a minister:

"I wonder, will the children of non-Muslim citizens also be compelled to study religious lessons?"

"I don't know," said the minister.

It was understood that the problem was still in the process of study.

This study must be made with great care and attention, because this undertaking has the potential to bring out complex issues. Meanwhile, however, time is inexorably slipping by. For this reason, even before the debates and researches are done, the need may arise to make an early decision on one very important aspect of the issue.

This very important aspect is how the constitution will be framed as regards religious freedom and education.

The nineteenth article of the 1961 Constitution precludes compulsory religious education. Let's read through this article:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of conscience and religious belief and opinion.

"Worship services, religious rites and ceremonies which are not contrary to public order or general morality, are free.

"No one can be compelled to participate in worship or religious rites and ceremonies or to reveal his religious beliefs and convictions.

"Religious education and teaching is solely contingent upon the wishes of individuals themselves and the wishes of the legal guardians of children."

As is seen, the third and fourth paragraphs prohibit forcing people to reveal their religious beliefs, and prohibit giving non-voluntary religious education.

In a study entitled "What form should religious education take in Turkey?", which was carried out by the General Secretariat of the National Security Council, it was pointed out that these constitutional rules are an obstacle to the state's providing compulsory religious education, and hence the study recommended that these paragraphs be removed.

The relevant passage in the concluding statement of the report reads as follows:

"In order to create a society possessing a national consciousness through a single system of education and teaching suited to the requirements of national politics, and in order to secure an equal religious education for all Turkish citizens as a significant contribution to achieving socially integrating moral values, the lifting from effect of the fourth paragraph of the nineteenth article of the constitution which ties religious education to free choice, or the exclusion of a similar decree from any newly produced constitution and the accordant reworking of basic education in law number 1739..."

We are expert neither in religion nor in education. We have no authority to pass judgment on a subject such as this one which seems like a mine field.

But we do want to call attention to how complex and hazardous this problem is. This is a matter which comes to rest on the basic principles and most critical paragraphs of the constitution. This issue is the very important delineation of an understanding on education in the relations between state and society.

Furthermore, priority in this matter is for a definitive position to be achieved before formulating the curricula for religious lessons to be taught in state schools and before arriving at solutions to certain very important questions such as the position of citizens of different religions and sects.

Why? Because the preparation of the constitution will begin in a few months.

However, as indicated in the report prepared by the General Secretariat of the National Security Council, even in the advanced countries "debate continues on the secular state's role in religious education."

This issue will now be debated in our country much more intensively, and occasionally with an emotional dimension. We hope that early and definitive formulations in the constitution, which is the most basic text, will not be attempted without first arriving at a clear vision and working out agreed general principles.

As the administration broaches this subject, it is thinking to head off the damage and divisive effect of Quran courses which are beyond supervision and which are rapidly increasing in number.

But it must be understood that mistaken steps taken with good intent can also open the way to divisiveness.

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